

CHAPTER 33a

THE SCYTHIANS

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I. PROLEGOMENA

In the first half of the first millennium B.C., new and powerful nomadic groups emerged on the Eurasian steppes to pose a military threat to more southerly urban and literate states and empires. By the sixth century B.C. a complex 'core-periphery' system had developed, in which true nomadism was only one element. The economic structure of steppe life changed and large-scale trade developed between the Greek Black Sea colonies and the vast new fortified centres of Scythian power.¹

The nomads can be traced at first archaeologically; later some names are attached to them in ancient texts. The most famous of these groups was known to the Greeks as the Scythians, against whom, Herodotus tells us, Darius the Great of Persia launched a massive and unsuccessful punitive expedition (*CAH* iv², 235ff). This chapter concerns the Scythians' rise to fame rather than their disappearance. By 500 B.C. they constituted one of the most powerful military forces in the known world.

1. *History of research*

The name 'Scythian' is met in the classical authors and has been taken to refer to an ethnic group or people, also mentioned in Near Eastern texts, who inhabited the northern Black Sea region. They were considered to be divided into a number of tribes, mainly located between the Dniester and Don rivers, who were at heart nomadic and raided widely.

'Scythian' is a very widespread term in Soviet archaeological literature. Ilinskaya and Terenozhkin, in their major work *Scythia: VII-IV Centuries B.C.*, provide the following general statement: 'Scythian culture

* For the division of authorial responsibility in this chapter, see Preface, p. xviii.

¹ D 170; D 113. The best general survey in English is now D 171. D 128; D 172; D 166; D 52 and D 23 are still of value, as is Minns' original chapter in *CAH* III¹, 187-205, if we bear in mind that chronologies have undergone several recent revisions (see n. 8). D 154 provides an attractive introduction to the Siberian material. Amongst Slavic-language works, D 72 and D 125A are the most comprehensive, but see also D 22; D 135; D 137; on Scythian social structure see D 79.



Map 13. Scythia.

exerted a strong influence on all the tribes [occupying areas] contiguous with Scythia, [including] those living in the northern Caucasus and Transcaucasus, the Sindo-Maeotae in the Kuban region, the Tauri of the Crimean hills, the Thracians of the Carpatho-Danubian basin, the north-eastern region of the Lusatian tribes [Byelorussia and Poland], the tribes . . . to the north of Scythia and so on.²

The most obvious and impressive of the archaeological remains associated with the Scythians are the great burial mounds (kurgans), some over 20 m high, which dot the south Russian steppe and extend in great chains for many kilometres along ridges and watersheds. It is from them that most has been learnt about Scythian life and art: intact graves may contain many precious metal artefacts, both luxury items made in the Greek Black Sea colonies, and locally made objects in the characteristic 'animal style'.³

The construction of kurgans in this region was not exclusive to the Scythian period: it is known from the Copper Age to the eighteenth century A.D. Grave-robbing is documented from as early as the fifteenth century A.D. and continued until recent times. In 1718, Peter the Great issued decrees (*ukazy*) regarding the collection and delivery of all objects 'right old and rare' to St Petersburg in return for suitable compensation; this material forms the basis of the Leningrad Hermitage's Scythian gold collection. By 1764 it was claimed that, for Siberia, 'no one goes into the tomb trade any more, because all the tombs in which there was hope of finding treasure have been ransacked'. In the nineteenth century, mounds in the Ukraine, Kuban, and Crimea were pillaged. Overall, more than 85 per cent of mounds excavated by archaeologists turn out to have been robbed.⁴

Some robbing of kurgans probably occurred soon after their construction. In a famous passage, Herodotus makes the Scythian king Idanthysus answer Darius' challenge to stand and fight the Persian army with

I am not fleeing from you. What I am doing now is no different from what I am wont to do in peacetime. I will also tell you why I will not instantly fight you. We

² D 72, 89. See also D 153, 5.

³ Catalogues from exhibitions of Scythian and Graeco-Scythian art are often the most accessible source of general views on the Scythian period as a whole, and one of the few places where the views of Soviet scholars can be read in English. Even those catalogues which are solely in Russian or Ukrainian are well worth consulting for their maps and illustrations. D 153 is perhaps the best. Others include D 3; D 37; D 49. For discussion of the early development of the animal style see D 174; D 74; D 223; D 98; D 42; D 88.

⁴ D 127, 14. Monographs on individual kurgans are in Russian or Ukrainian. Among the most famous are Arzhan, D 55; Pazyryk, D 175; Krasnokutsk, D 125; Adygeya, D 76; Solokha, D 112; Tolstaya Mogila, D 134. For Scythian kurgan burial in general see D 104 and D 168 (both in German). For recent archaeological work in the steppe see D 120 and the following special section on Soviet archaeology in the steppe zone.

have neither cities nor sown land among us for which we might fear – that they be captured or destroyed – and so might be quicker to join in battle against you to save them. But if you needs must come to a fight with us quickly, there *are* our fathers' graves. Find them and try to ruin them, and you will discover whether we will fight you or not – for the graves. (Hdt. IV. 127)

Although these 'Royal' Scythians were prepared to attempt to protect their ancestral burial ground from spoliation by military force, the rich ostentation of Scythian burial was well known in antiquity, and, as Scythian power waned, grave-robbing almost certainly began.

The cited passage is important here for other reasons. The implication that the Scythians had no permanent settlements and no agrarian base, and that their mode of life was nomadic, has been taken as a programmatic statement.⁵ The antiquarian interest and the beginnings of scientific connoisseurship that were engendered by treasure hunting remained focused on the kurgans. The only other conceivable index of Scythian activity was the razing of the settlements of others, and attempts have been made to discover such 'destruction levels' in the archaeology of certain towns in Asia Minor.⁶ Large-scale regional survey, first developed during the period of the New Economic Policy (1921–9), changed the emphasis of archaeological work on the Scythians away from reconstructions based on burials alone.⁷ Since the work of Yatsenko in the late 1950s, Scythian periodization and chronology have been completely revised.⁸ Recent work has provided reliable regional chronologies and a wealth of new data, including the mapping of an extensive network of large fortified production centres within the forest-steppe zone⁹ (e.g. Belsk: see below, p. 588), and a much fuller understanding of the development of Scythian animal style art.¹⁰

2. *Natural environment*

The principal geographical feature of the Scythian world is the steppe, 'a level grassland, without trees' (Hippocrates, *De Aere* 28) stretching from

⁵ From the time of Herodotus and Hippocrates onward, the idea of a steppe population who lived in waggons and had no fixed abode has been pervasive in descriptions of the steppe. Ammianus describes the Hunnish way of life in terms closely similar to Herodotus on the Scythians. Although early archaeologists were aware of the 'Agricultural Scythians' (for which see below, Section III, 6) and Artamonov in 1947 (reference in D 182) conjectured on what form of land ownership pertained among them, it was not until the more widespread application of palaeobotanical techniques and excavation of settlement sites that the details of sedentary agricultural systems on the steppe began to become known: D 182 and further references in D 113; on the Scythian legend of the 'golden plough' see D 58. ⁶ D 167. ⁷ D 127, 11.

⁸ Jessen and Yatsenko's chronologies were revised upwards in the 1970s (D 64; cf. no. 47; D 72). With the availability of calibrated carbon-14 date estimates and the reworking of local typological sequences a new chronology has now been established: D 88; D 126.

⁹ D 183; D 184.

¹⁰ D 153; D 42. In Russian see particularly D 123.

the Danube plains in the west to the marches of China in the east.¹¹ The characteristic soil of the steppe, *chernozem* or Black Earth, is caused in part by high summer evaporation and long freezing in winter. The climate is strongly continental, with vegetation changing in line with latitude: north of the steppe belt is a zone of forest steppe, beyond which lie mixed coniferous and deciduous woodlands, followed by coniferous *taiga* and, finally, treeless tundra. This horizontal pattern is broken by the rivers, running mainly from north to south (but with many tributaries), of which the Volga, Don, and Dnieper are the largest.

Medium-term climatic changes appear to have played an important part in the cultural development of the region. The development of true nomadic pastoralism in the Central Asian and Siberian areas (where the 'animal style' also originated) occurred during the onset of cooler, drier conditions from the ninth century B.C. onwards.¹² This was probably an important causal factor in the appearance in the northern Black Sea region, from the mid-eighth century B.C., of successive waves of eastern nomads, who were in search of better pastures in the forest-steppe zone and northern foothills of the Caucasus. At the beginning of the fifth century B.C. the climate became warmer and wetter again, and these groups, along with further new arrivals from the east, were able to expand onto the south Russian steppe proper.¹³

3. *Nomads, Herodotus, and Scythia*

The Scythians were one of many groups recorded by the classical authors as living in Scythia. The use of the ethnonyms Scythae, Sauromatae, Sarmatae, Massagetae, Cimmerii, etc. in Near Eastern texts and Greek literature has been dealt with thoroughly and at length by Kretschmer and this need not be duplicated here.¹⁴ Extant *glossae* and *onomastica* indicate that these groups were probably Iranian speakers.¹⁵ The most important single textual source of information on Scythia and the Scythians is Herodotus' *History*.¹⁶

Because, archaeologically speaking, the situation in the northern Black Sea region was far from static, it is important to distinguish clearly the different epistemologies involved in correlating Herodotus' accounts with evidence from the early fifth century B.C. (his own day), the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. (for which his knowledge was

¹¹ D 120, fig. 1.

¹² For Siberia in the Scythian period see D 117; for climate, see references in D 57, 20ff.

¹³ D 113. For a general perspective on steppe nomadism, see D 206; D 119; D 80; D 11.

¹⁴ Kretschmer, P-W.

¹⁵ Cf. D 88, 85. The linguistic material is too scanty for any serious attempt at reconstruction to be made.

¹⁶ The best English translation is now D 54.

'historical'), and the later fifth and fourth centuries B.C. (after Herodotus, but the period to which the most spectacular archaeological material dates).

Herodotus' information on the various Scythian tribes is very detailed.¹⁷ He reports what he himself believes and what he says he does not believe, recording mythical accounts as such. Recent scepticism concerning the value of Herodotus' account for understanding the Scythian world has been archaeologically and anthropologically ill-informed. The coincidence between Herodotus' location and description of the 'Royal Scythian' (or *Sakaurakoi*: Lucian, *Macrobios* 15) burial ground and its funerary rites and the archaeologically investigated kurgans of the Lower Dnieper region is striking.¹⁸

Herodotus gives two versions of a 'foundation myth' for Scythia – one Scythian and one Greek colonial – along with his own non-mythically structured account (Hdt. iv.5–12). In the first:

The Scythians say their nation is the youngest of all the nations and that it came into existence in this way: the first man to be in this country of theirs, which then was desolate, was one Targitaus by name. They say – they *do* say so, though for my part I do not believe it – that the parents of this Targitaus were Zeus and a daughter of the river Borysthenes [Dnieper]. From this breeding came Targitaus and he had three sons – Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and the youngest, Colaxais. (Hdt. iv.5)

Colaxais became king and a version of his name (perhaps a 'pet name'), Skoloti, became the name for all of them – *Σκύθαι* to the Greeks. In the Greek version, Heracles slept with a 'monster, half-woman, half-snake' (Hdt. iv.9) who bore three sons: Agathyrus, Gelonus, and the youngest, Scythes, who became king. Herodotus then tells 'another story, which is strongly urged, and it is this one to which I myself incline', in which the nomad Scythians were driven out of Asia by the Massagetae and were forced to cross the Araxes (Volga) into Cimmerian-controlled territory. Under pressure to fight the Scythians, the Cimmerian 'commonality' revolted, provoking a bloodthirsty internecine war among the 'princes'. The Scythians were then able to move in and take over an 'empty land' – i.e., one devoid of an elite – pursuing the remainder of the mounted Cimmerians south of the Caucasus into Media (Hdt. iv.11–12).

¹⁷ There are numerous Soviet works which address this body of information, including D 176 and D 96.

¹⁸ Hartog (D 61) has characterized Herodotus' Scythians as 'imaginary' in his exegesis of Herodotus' guiding ideology. The view that Herodotus principally used objective information (albeit for a purpose) is not given much consideration; Hartog's understanding of what little relevant archaeological data he cites appears limited. For a defence of Herodotus' account in the light of archaeology, see D 106. An attempt at reconstructing aspects of indigenous Scythian ideology (or *Weltanschauung*) is made in D 165.

Herodotus adds that the Geloni – actually Budini (Hdt. iv.109) – inhabited the Graeco-Scythian town of Gelonus, while other passages have been taken to imply that, in the fifth century B.C., a Scythian group called Agathyrsi lived to the west, in the Carpathian region. The latter have sometimes been identified archaeologically with metalwork of the Mureş-Tîrnave group in Transylvania, but both the Scythian character of the Agathyrsi and the south Russian origin of the relevant metalwork are open to question.¹⁹ Elsewhere Herodotus implies that the Agathyrsi and Budini are ‘non-Scythians’ (e.g. Hdt. iv.49; 104; 119); thus, it seems that the designation of the word ‘Scythian’ was variable, even for the same author within the same text.

The myths Herodotus records probably reflect an attempt to legitimate a relatively recent take-over of a territory by referring to a mythical ancestor and his three sons, and to provide a framework for claiming hegemony over surrounding territories and peoples. By the fifth century B.C. at least, a ‘polyethnic’ situation had developed in the northern Black Sea region, involving interactions between Greeks, successive waves of warlike mounted nomads, and local steppe and forest-steppe populations with their own separate ethnic identity and (probably) physical appearance (e.g. the Budini ‘with very blue eyes and red hair’: Hdt. iv.104).

Physical characteristics and the perception of ethnicity are often correlated. This is natural when we consider that a major channel for the transmission of ethnic awareness from one generation to the next is the family, and that it is family structures that generally govern genetic transmission too.²⁰ Physical anthropological attempts to detect the arrival of new groups, or the presence of two or more ethnically distinct components within a local population, cannot yet form the basis of secure generalization, but may do so after more detailed study. For present purposes it is enough to note that two major currently recognized racial types, *Caucasoids* and *Mongoloids*, are considered to have

¹⁹ D 15; D 194 for the Ferigile-Birşeşti group; D 99 for relevant chronology. There has been considerable debate over the ‘ethnic allegiance’ of areas west of the Dniester and north of the Danube; among Soviet scholars Mantsevid and Meliukova (D 124) have held different views. The debate has usually taken a form in which Scythian presence in a particular area is identified on the basis of diagnostic artefact types; these then turn out to be different in significant respects from ‘actual Scythian’ examples and Scythian presence is refuted. It seems likely, however, that often artefacts of Scythian type could have been made locally for use by a mobile ‘Scythian’ elite, as, indeed much Graeco-Scythian art was made in the colonies: D 195, 96 and cf. *Pls. to Vol IV*, pl. 104. For evidence of ‘Scythians’ further west see, for Hungary: D 43; D 144; D 145; D 32; D 9 and D 35 (on Tápíozsentmárton and Zöldhalompuszta); for Poland: D 20 and D 38 (on Vetttersfelde); for Austria and Czechoslovakia: D 36.

²⁰ D 204.

existed historically in geographical proximity on the steppe and its southern and western interfaces.²¹

Archaeologically, it is clear that the eighth- and seventh-century B.C. 'Scythians' were not the same as the fifth-century 'Scythians'.²² Both were mounted elite war-bands originating in the more easterly regions of the steppe, and the Greeks, quite naturally, called both groups by the same name. Archaeologically, five major phases can be distinguished between 750 and 250 B.C., with a fresh nomadic component arriving in three of them: 750–650 B.C. ('Cimmerians' and 'Scythians'); 475–430 B.C. ('Scythians'); and 300–250 B.C. ('Sarmatians').²³ These unstable periods were punctuated by more peaceful ones. In the first of these the Greek colonies were founded and economic relations between them, the nomads, and local agricultural populations emerged. These were developed in the second period, when the colonies expanded and 'Graeco-Scythian' art flourished.²⁴

Thus, the terms *Scythia* and *Scythian* can be seen to have had a variety of meanings in antiquity. For classical authors, the south Russian steppes are designated Scythia for many centuries after the demise of Scythian military might. It seems that the word Scythian, supposedly derived from a personal name, Scoloti, came to designate a group which claimed hegemony over other groups, by virtue of which the Greeks generalized the name further to include a large number of steppe nomad peoples who existed at various times.

II. THE CIMMERIANS

The Cimmerians were one of the earliest peoples of Eastern Europe whose name has come down to us, and whose history is interwoven with that of the Scythians. The earliest reference is found in Homer, *Odyssey* XI.14, which may refer to the ninth century B.C.

The Cimmerians are widely regarded as a people of Indo-European stock, a branch of the Thracians or at least closely related to them. Some scholars consider them an Iranian-speaking people, or a Thracian one with an Iranian ruling class; some believe in their identity with the Maeotians, who in antiquity lived along the eastern coast of 'the Maeotian Sea' (the Sea of Azov). There are also several other theories. In general, it seems that the Catacomb culture, typical of the second

²¹ Although much work has been done on this, many difficulties remain, both in terms of sample biases and in controlling for the complex environmental and post-depositional factors involved. The standard prehistoric overview for the Soviet Union is D 29.

²² D 113, 807ff.

²³ D 113.

²⁴ See D 153, 61ff; for material of this period in a British collection see D 209.

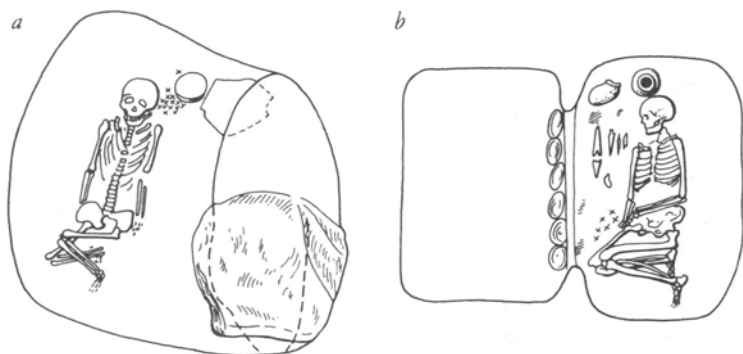


Fig. 28. Examples of Catacomb graves of the Bronze Age in the Ukraine. (a) 'Flat' grave at Leontivka near Kakhivka. (b) 'Catacomb' of a barrow grave in the region of Izium.

millennium B.C. in the North Pontic steppes east of the Dnieper,²⁵ has been seen as providing all the archaeological desiderata which are needed for its identification with the Cimmerians.²⁶

The Cimmerians consisted of two distinct sections 'equal in numbers': the 'kings' or the 'royal race', and the 'Cimmerian people' (Hdt. iv. 11-12). There must have been some antagonism between them. In Herodotus' story of the murderous fight between them it is evident that the Cimmerian rulers and those ruled by them were originally two different peoples who had not blended into a single nation by the end of the second millennium B.C. A credible suggestion is to link the 'royal race' with the expansion of the 'Median line' of the Early Western Iranians, who in the thirteenth or twelfth century B.C. imposed themselves upon that part of the Catacomb people which yielded to them. This assumption may perhaps explain the Iranian names of Cimmerian rulers, and may clear up the cause of antagonism between the two sections of Cimmerians.

According to Herodotus (iv. 11-12), the Cimmerians 'evidently appear to have fled from the Scythians into Asia and settled in the peninsula in which the Grecian city Sinope now stands'. This must have taken place around the twelfth century B.C., when the Catacomb culture retreated, at least if this culture was the archaeological equivalent of the Cimmerians.

A large section of retreating Cimmerians must have entered the Crimea in the thirteenth century B.C., if they had not lived there already before that date. A few hundred barrow-graves mostly of the Early and Late Srubnaya culture attributable to the Scythians, were excavated in

²⁵ D 193; D 161; D 62; D 136; D 191, 222-30 [and see now D 30 with further references].

²⁶ D 190, 65. [The archaeological support for this view is not clear-cut: Terenozhkin identified the Srubnaya culture with the Cimmerians (D 201); other possibilities exist.]

recent years in the Crimean steppe; but several proved to be of the Catacomb culture which implies that the Cimmerians must have lived there before the Scythian influx. In this respect the investigation of the settlement at Kirovo, in the western part of the Kerch peninsula, is of importance. Its earliest remains were of a late stage of the Catacomb culture,²⁷ followed by those of the Srubnaya culture. The final date of the settlement has been put at *c.* 800 B.C., but bone arrow-heads of 'Scythian type' and the bones of two camels found in the upper layer of the settlement imply that it must have been in existence up to about the late fifth century B.C.

Three princely barrow-graves may, perhaps, be connected with the Cimmerians. Two lie one on each side of the Straits of Kerch, the third in the south of the peninsula. In one, the Temir Gora barrow north east of Kerch, a Rhodian oinochoe of *c.* 640–620 B.C. was found in the primary burial. Other grave-goods were a bone plaque in the shape of a curled panther or tiger, and a bone terminal of a bow carved in the shape of an eagle-griffin head, of the same type as those found in Karmir-Blur (see below, p. 583). The two latter articles are often considered the earliest specimens of the 'Scythian animal style' found in Europe. In fact they were either brought from Western Asia, or made locally after an Asiatic model. Many scholars regard the burial as that of a Cimmerian prince, but more often it is considered Scythian. The prince, if Scythian, was definitely not of the West-Asiatic–Kuban stock. The other, the Tsukur barrow on the Tsukur Liman at the western end of the Taman peninsula, was of about the same date: a Rhodian oinochoe was also found in it together with a kylix, bronze double-edged arrow-heads and a bronze open-work belt-clasp in the shape of two confronting upright lion figures (Pls. Vol., pl. 254). It recalls the heraldic figures on pole-tops from Cappadocia and from other sites in Western Asia, and implies that the prince buried in the grave had connexions with the Cimmerians of Asia Minor. The bronze battle-axe from this grave is the earliest article of this type found in the North Pontic area.²⁸ The battle-axes do not represent a weapon proper to Western Asia: they were frequently found in Siberia and in burials of the Ananino culture in the Kama-Ural region, although the eastern specimens are different in their shape. The burial has been usually considered Cimmerian, which seems to be most likely. The third princely burial of the pre-Scythian period, at Zolnoe near Simferopol,²⁹ was the earliest of the three. Its equipment was of the Novoherkassk type and showed close connexions with the Piatigorsk group of the Koban culture in the central part of the northern Caucasus.

Another indication of the presence of Cimmerians in the Crimea are

²⁷ D 101; D 102.

²⁸ See D 172, 40.

²⁹ D 178, 57ff; D 201, 44ff, fig. 17.

the names of two towns, situated one on each side of the Straits of Kerch, which bore the name 'Cimmerian'; the Straits have been sometimes called the 'Cimmerian Bosphorus'.³⁰ The Crimean Cimmerians were later assimilated by the Scythians who subsequently took the country into their possession.

Around 1200 B.C., a large group of Catacomb-Cimmerians, pressed by the Srubnaya Iranians, had retreated from the Ukrainian steppe southwards into the North Caucasus, and settled in its north-western and central parts; they survived there at least until the eighth century B.C., especially in the region of Piatigorsk, where Catacomb graves have been found in numbers.³¹ They mingled with the natives and became one of the formative elements of the local group of the Koban culture, called so after a village in the centre of the Causasian highland. This group was formed in about the eleventh century on the basis of carbon-14 dates,³² which is consistent with the remark of Eusebius that the Cimmerians invaded Western Asia three hundred years before the first Olympiad of 776 B.C., i.e. in the eleventh century B.C.

Archaeological traces of these Cimmerians are rather meagre. Among them are twenty Catacomb graves at Artik in Soviet Armenia, c. 25 km south east of Leninakan.³³ Their grave-goods have been dated to about 1200 B.C., but they seem to be of a later date, since a burial 'of the Catacomb type' was found on the slope of Mount Ararat, c. 20 km south east of the graves at Artik; its carbon-14 date is 900 ± 50 B.C.³⁴ Attribution of Artik graves to the Cimmerians is supported by the Urartian report of c. 774 B.C., which concerns the Urartian campaign in the region between Lakes Sevan and Childir in Transcaucasia. It has been surmised that the Cimmerians in Western Asia were there mentioned for the first time, but under the name of 'Ish-qi-Gu-lu'.³⁵ This surmise has been strengthened by an Urartian rock inscription of Argishti I (786-764 B.C.) at Ganlidzha near Leninakan, according to which a people called Ish-qi-Gu-lu lived then in the region of Leninakan in Armenia.

Next is a report by Sennacherib, the Assyrian crown prince who collected intelligence about Urartian affairs in the north; he informed his father, Sargon II of Assyria (721-705), of a defeat of the Urartians in Gamir, a Cimmerian territory probably in east Cappadocia. According to some authorities, the battle was fought in 707 B.C., and the defeated Urartian king was Argishti II, but others are of the opinion³⁶ that the

³⁰ [The view that the name Crimea derives from the name Cimmerian is no longer generally held. It probably comes from the Turko-Tatar *qırım* - 'fortress': D 59, 17.]

³¹ D 62; D 93, 77ff.

³² D 94, 13-18.

³³ D 77.

³⁴ LE-818. The carbon-14 date estimate, 890 ± 60 B.C., for the 'Cyclopean fortress' at Lchashen on Lake Sevan in Armenia, is similar.

³⁵ D 208, 15.

³⁶ D 151, 233; D 208.

battle was fought before 714 B.C., i.e. before the rout of the Urartian army by Sargon II, and that the vanquished Urartian king was Rusa I, father of Argishti II. According to some scholars, the battle took place near 'Gurania', probably modern Gurunon in east Cappadocia; according to Melikishvili,³⁷ the site lay on the north-western border of Urartu near Lake Childir north of Kars.

A few years later, in 705 B.C., the Cimmerians tried to cross the Assyrian frontier, but were heavily defeated by the Assyrians under Sargon II, although he himself fell in this battle. The next assault took place in 679 B.C., when, according to Assyrian annals, 'the Gimmirai' under king Teushpa were defeated by the governor of Esarhaddon (680-669) at Khubushna on the north-western confines of the Assyrian empire. Religious texts of Esarhaddon subsequent to 673 B.C. certify that Rusa II recruited a large contingent of Cimmerians as mercenaries. A document of 672 B.C. mentions an inroad by Rusa II into south-west Asia, in which probably some 'allied' Cimmerians participated.

The Cimmerians were quite successful in Asia Minor. They seized Cappadocia, penetrated into Paphlagonia and captured Sinope, a Greek city on the Black Sea coast. In 696-5 B.C., allied with Rusa II, they invaded Phrygia, and in 680 they shattered the Phrygian kingdom of Midas.³⁸

Although they were defeated c. 663 by King Gyges of Lydia, they finally captured Sardis, Lydia's capital city, in c. 640. They were now at the summit of their power, but their hegemony in Asia Minor did not last long. In 626 or 637 they were routed by Alyattes, king of Lydia, who killed their king Dugdamme (Lygdamis). Herodotus 1.15 says that Alyattes drove the Cimmerians out of Asia; in fact, the Cimmerians retreated to Cilicia and threatened Assyrian territory. Thus the last Cimmero-Assyrian encounter took place either shortly after 635 B.C. or about 625. The Cimmerians, under Sandakshatru, son of Dugdamme, were then defeated by Ashurbanipal. After this blow, to which also the Scythians under Madyes contributed, they disappeared from history. Some scholars³⁹ put the Cimmerian collapse between 604 and 560 B.C. We may, however, conjecture that despite their defeat the Cimmerians still remained in Cappadocia, since the Armenian name of that country is 'Gamirq'. They also managed to subsist for many years at Antandrus in the Troad, in the region of Edremit.

Assyrian records of the seventh century B.C. mention the Cimmerians

³⁷ D 122, 313.

³⁸ An 'incense burner' (D 177, 33, fig. 496) from the Cimmerian layer of 680 B.C. at Alishar Hüyük in Phrygia supports the identification of the bearers of the Catacomb culture with the Cimmerians. [The theory of an alliance between Urartu and the Cimmerians against Phrygia is rejected by van Loon (D 208, 20).]

³⁹ D 17.

in connexion with wars and unrests in Iran. After their first recorded encounter with the Urartians they probably split into two groups, of which one moved westwards and the other went south eastwards, along Lake Urmia. Assyrian religious texts of the time of Esarhaddon mention the Cimmerians in the region of Lake Urmia (see below, p. 581) and their alliance with the Medes.⁴⁰ Several scholars believe that a section of these Cimmerians proceeding further south reached Luristan, and that they were responsible for the introduction of a series of bronze articles proper to the Koban culture of the Caucasus into the Luristan bronze industry of the eighth–seventh centuries B.C.⁴¹

Finally, two peoples who might have been of Cimmerian derivation deserve mention. One is the bearers of the Chornoles culture,⁴² in the Ukrainian forest-steppe zone west of the middle Dnieper. According to archaeological evidence the culture was formed around 800 B.C. by newcomers from the western Koban group of the Northern Caucasus, who were bearers of the Novocherkassk type of remains (see below, p. 562). The newcomers evidently conquered the country hitherto held by people of the Belogrudovka culture as suggested by the destruction of ‘open’ settlements of the latter culture and their replacement by the earthworks of the new one.

Archaeological relics of the same or similar type and of the same period were also found in a few countries in the eastern part of Central Europe. In some areas (Transylvania, Hungarian plain) they formed small concentrations. They have usually been called ‘Thraco-Cimmerian’ assemblages, and the people who brought them into Eastern Europe have been named ‘Thraco-Cimmerians’, perhaps the latest survivals of the ancient Cimmerians.

III. THE SCYTHIANS

1. *The early Scythians*

The circumstances in the Volga steppe did not alter much after the upheaval of the thirteenth century B.C. (see above, p. 558) until the ninth century B.C. when considerable changes took place. The starting point was a new invasion by steppe nomads from Asia, which forced the retreat of the Srubnaya-Khvalynsk people westwards into the Ukraine, southwards towards the north Caucasian foothills,⁴³ and along the Caspian coast into Transcaucasia⁴⁴ and Iran. The Srubnaya-Khvalynsk

⁴⁰ D 47, 32f. ⁴¹ D 46, 48f.

⁴² D 6, 170–7; D 64, 49–110; D 65, 112–31; D 63, 119.

⁴³ Cf. D 72, 44ff.

⁴⁴ D 56, 132; D 211, 258–63; D 93, 186ff; D 187, 44.

culture represents the earliest archaeological remains attributable to the Scythians. In the Ukraine the name 'Late Srubnaya culture' has been given to these remains, and the name 'Early Scythians' to their bearers, to distinguish them from the 'Scythians' of the 'Scythian culture'.⁴⁵ They took over all the territory of the Catacomb culture and mingled there with its successors, the Early Iranians. Some moved southwards and settled among the natives in a few regions of the Caucasian foothills. The differences in the inventory of graves and in the burial rites of the North Caucasian cemeteries of the ninth to seventh centuries B.C. of that area (Khutor Kubanskii, Krasnoarmeyskoe)⁴⁶ imply the existence of social differences within the population which arose from the invasion by the Early Scythians.

The advance of the Early Scythians into the east Ukrainian steppe country around 800 B.C. was not a peaceful enterprise, nor were its consequent displacements of other peoples. A pathetic witness to the disturbances connected with these events are scores of settlements of the Sabatinovka culture in the valley of the Dnieper and other rivers of the area which were totally destroyed at that time. Moreover, the centre of the 'Cimmerian' bronze industry of the preceding period ceased to exist, and only meagre traces of its revival have been noted in the subsequent period.

Several articles of Siberian origin, especially those of the Karasuk culture of the eighth century B.C., were brought to the North Pontic area by eastern invaders and became a characteristic element of the Early Scythian culture. Among these were cast bronze cauldrons, daggers, swords, and in particular horse harness. In a special study of the last, A. A. Iessen⁴⁷ distinguished two types representing two different cultural and ethnic groups. The standard types were bronze bits, those of Type I being of West Asiatic origin and proper to indigenous North Caucasian peoples, and those of Type III being of Siberian origin, introduced in the North Pontic area by the invading Scythians. Those of Type I were products of Koban metallurgical workshops and were a North Caucasian adaptation of West Asiatic horse-trappings to suit local requirements. They were also adopted by the ruling class of the Chornoles culture, who were probably of Catacomb-Cimmerian derivation, and fought not only on horseback, but presumably also from chariots. They reached the Ukraine by the way northwards along the western side of the Dnieper, avoiding the area held by the Royal Scythians. Bits of Type I

⁴⁵ D 103, 90f.

⁴⁶ D 65, map on p. 128; D 64, 49-110; D 188, 77-81; D 212; D 201; and also published by many other scholars.

⁴⁷ D 64, 54, 98ff; D 65, 125ff; D 93, 143. [This typology and chronology has been superseded. See n. 8.]

usually appear in association with specific articles of the pre-Scythian period (eighth–seventh centuries B.C.), to which the name of the ‘Novocherkassk type’ has been given after the name of the town on the lower Don where a hoard was found.

Of Siberian derivation were bronze bits of Iessen’s Type III, with stirrup-shaped terminals. They were introduced into the north Pontic area by the Early Scythians, and their gradual westward spread marked the advance of Scythian invaders. The earliest bronze bits of Type III were found in the princely barrows of the pre-Scythian period, either on the eastern periphery of the Royal Scythian territory (Kamyshevakh, Chernogorovka), or near its western limit, south of the Dnieper bend (Malaya-Tsymbalka) (see below, pp. 574f).

In the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. horse harness, bits of Types I and III, swords, daggers, and other objects of the Novocherkassk sort found their way into a few countries of Central Europe, where they were given the name of the ‘Thraco-Cimmerian’ assemblage.⁴⁸ They were probably brought there by North Caucasians who retreated westwards before the invading Early Scythians of the Srubnaya–Khvalynsk derivation. The Caucasian newcomers settled mainly in Transylvania and in the Hungarian plain. Mingling with the native populations they gradually lost their identity.

A large section of the Early Scythians proceeded southwards, crossed the Caucasian mountains, and advancing along the western coast of the Caspian reached Azerbaijan in Transcaucasia. They settled there among the indigenous population in the regions of Mingechaur on the Kura, of Kirovograd, and in the Muganskaya steppe.⁴⁹ The country was later known to Xenophon as the Land of the Skythenoi, and to Ptolemy as Sakasene; the people were called the Sacassani by Livy. Those near Kirovograd were called by the natives Scyzhini.⁵⁰

Transcaucasia consequently became for a century the main Scythian abode in Asia. The newcomers adopted some local weapons. The akinakes-daggers, and the three-edged bronze socketed arrow-heads, often considered ‘typically Scythian’, were mostly Transcaucasian, in particular Georgian, inventions.⁵¹ Almost the only artistic expression of the Early Scythians (Srubnaya–Khvalynsk) when they arrived in Transcaucasia was a variety of geometric decorative patterns,⁵² to which not

⁴⁸ D 86, 111ff; D 43; D 191, 383f; D 162; D 163. [For a more recent view see D 87.]

⁴⁹ For Mingechaur see D 130 = D 131, 226ff. Of importance was the ‘Small Mound’ (Fig. 29). Its equipment consisted of 21 vessels, all local Transcaucasian ware, nearly 300 bone, paste, and carnelian beads, and a set of bronze articles – all Transcaucasian products except for the bridle frontlet which was probably a Urartian import. The grave has been dated to about 650–600 B.C.: D 66, 22ff; D 199, 71ff. The question of the ‘Scythian kingdom’ in ancient Azerbaijan has been discussed in D 78, 183–7 and D 159, 55ff.

⁵⁰ D 108.

⁵¹ D 157, 22; D 158, 11; D 107, 25; D 205; D 93; D 189, 295.

⁵² D 143, 71–81, fig. 1.

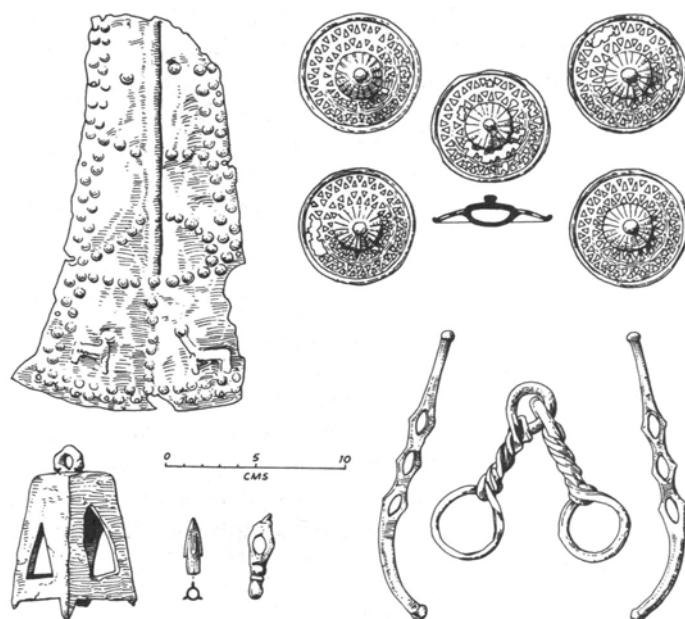


Fig. 29. Bronzes from the princely burial of the second half of the seventh century B.C., the so-called 'Small Mound' (Malyi Kurgan) in the Milskaya steppe, East Soviet Azerbaijan. (After D 66, 22ff.)

only rank-and-file Scythians but also princes remained faithful for a long time.

Important changes due to the Scythian newcomers took place in burial rites and in the social structure of the native population. The equipment of graves of the pre-Scythian time showed no marked social division among the native people. The position after the eighth century B.C. was different. The richly furnished graves of the chieftains, some accompanied by human sacrifice, were in marked contrast with the burials of ordinary people and imply a considerable degree of social differentiation. Furthermore, anthropological study of the bones has revealed that serfs were of a different racial type from their masters, on whose graves they were put to death.⁵³

Further south, in the region of Lake Urmia (Iranian Azerbaijan), traces of the Early Scythians have been found at a few sites. Of interest are finds from graves under mounds at Sé Girdan near the ancient settlement of Hasanlu.⁵⁴ In a tumulus of the seventh century B.C. a crouched skeleton was found strewn with ochre in the manner proper to the Andronovo burials in Kazakhstan; near the skeleton lay a feline-

⁵³ D 97, 135-77.

⁵⁴ D 138, 5-25; D 139, 5-28.

headed whetstone (Pls. Vol., pl. 256a), reminiscent of sculptures common in the Minusinsk valley in south Siberia. This item suggests that the buried chief was a Srubnaya-Khvalynsk Scythian of Andronovo ancestry.⁵⁵ In another tumulus of approximately similar age three bronze axes of the Late Bronze Age were found, which point to connexions of this Scythian group with North Caucasus (Pls. Vol., pl. 256f).

2. *The Scythian century in western Asia*

Herodotus (1.104) says that after passing the Caucasus the Scythians were opposed by the Medes, who being defeated, 'lost their empire', and that the Scythians then became 'masters of Asia'. At IV.1 he says that the Scythians 'ruled Upper Asia for twenty-eight years'. However, evidence from other sources shows that a longer time was required for these events. The earliest recorded Scythian inroad, jointly with the Cimmerians, into Assyrian territory possibly took place in 676 B.C., when they were beaten by the Assyrian king Esarhaddon and their king Ishpaka was killed.

During the early seventh century B.C. conditions on the north-eastern frontier of Assyria were unsteady,⁵⁶ as was indicated by the queries of Esarhaddon addressed to the sun-god Shamash.⁵⁷ One mentions a great coalition of Mannaeans, Cimmerians, and Medes against Assyria headed by Kashtaritu (Khshathrita). Esarhaddon cleverly warded off the danger by contracting friendship with the Scythians; Kashtaritu was defeated in 674, and the coalition disintegrated. A Scythian irruption into Urartu resulted in a considerable curtailment of Urartian territory in the south east. Subsequently Urartu was subdued by Scythians, and soon afterwards, probably in 652, the countries of Mannaea and Media were subjugated.⁵⁸

At the time of the reign of Esarhaddon, Bartatua (the Protothyes of Herodotus, 1.103) was king of the Scythians in Western Asia (c. 678–c. 645). He may have been the successor of Ishpaka, possibly even his son.⁵⁹ Bartatua was probably well aware of the precarious position of Esarhaddon in 674, and must have considered himself powerful enough to ask in marriage the hand of the Assyrian princess, Shern'a-etert, Esarhaddon's daughter.⁶⁰ Esarhaddon apparently did not resent her marriage to a barbarian, but his fear was that 'the sacrifice' might be in vain. His worries have been recorded in queries addressed to the sun-god Shamash, asking him: 'Whether Bartatua will speak with him true words

⁵⁵ D 24, 116, fig. 21; D 25, 212, fig. 2.7–11.

⁵⁶ D 44, 24ff; D 33, 208ff.

⁵⁷ D 141, 359f; D 121, 300; D 48, 105.

⁵⁸ For Urartu see D 45, 98.

⁵⁹ D 31, 258.

⁶⁰ D 216, 6.

of peace; will truly say "the peace" which acknowledges his nominal submission; will keep his oath to Esarhaddon; will he do that which is good for Esarhaddon?⁶¹

From the legal point of view the queries imply that Bartatua, in marrying Esarhaddon's daughter, had to take an oath of allegiance and thus legally become an Assyrian vassal, and to hold the countries ruled by himself as a fief. Consequently, his kingdom might have been considered a nominal extension of the Assyrian kingdom. The agreement seems to have worked; for in 653-652 the Assyrians defeated Media and left the country to be ruled by the Scythians who had aided them. History does not explicitly tell us whether Bartatua actually married the Assyrian royal princess, but this seems to ensue from the firm Assyro-Scythian alliance and the loyal support of Assyria by the Scythians nearly to the end of that kingdom.

The presumed marriage of Bartatua into the Assyrian royal family, probably in 676, and his consequent legal submission to Esarhaddon were undoubtedly important events in the history of north-west Iran. Family links with the royal house evidently exposed the Scythian royal family to a strong impact of Assyrian culture, and also to influences emanating from Mannaea and Urartu, both countries then under Scythian overlordship, whose culture had developed under strong Assyrian impression.

By the mid-seventh century B.C. the Scythians, still under Bartatua, reached the summit of their might in Western Asia, and the region of Saqqez seems to have been their political centre. This was the beginning of the twenty-eight years of 'Scythian rule over Asia' which, if we trust Herodotus, began c. 645 or 650 B.C. Bartatua died probably in 645, and was succeeded by a son Madyes, supposedly by the Assyrian royal princess.⁶² He was then some twenty-seven years of age.

In 1947 a very important discovery was made at Ziwiye on the top of a steep hill, some 200 m above the level of the valley. Excavations by the Iranbastaan Museum in Tehran have established so far that the site was a very strongly fortified castle, probably the seat of a Scythian ruler. The most important find was a broken bronze 'bath', sarcophagus or coffin, discovered in the eroded part of the Ziwiye hill in which a 'hoard' is said to have been found. This consisted of gold articles (Pls. Vol., pls. 258 and 262) and personal ornaments, presumably belonging to the person or persons buried in the coffin. But according to recent study,⁶³ the articles labelled as from Ziwiye at present in many museums all over the world

⁶¹ D 141. ⁶² D 84; D 155, 473; and many others.

⁶³ D 140, 197ff. [Muscarella rightly casts doubt on the 'assemblage' as a whole, as well as on the supposed context of its discovery. It follows that any construction based on the 'Ziwiye' material must be hypothetical.]

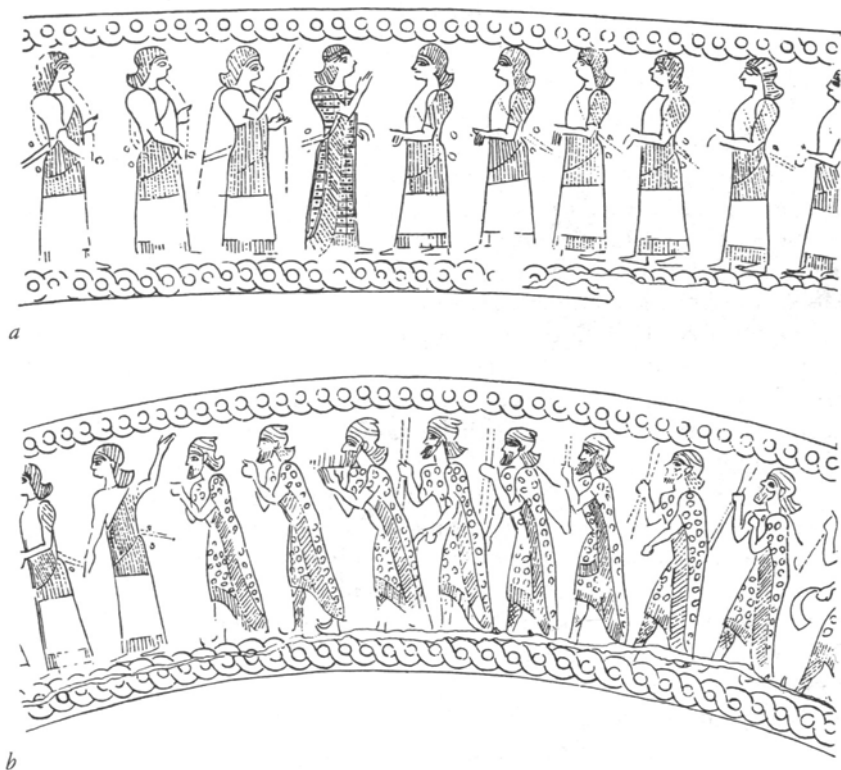


Fig. 30. Two sections of the incised scene on the rim of the bronze coffin from Ziwiye: (a) viceroy and court officials; (b) a group of foreigners being ushered into the presence of the viceroy. (After D 215, 215, fig. 3; 216, fig. 6.)

were for the most part of other provenance and several were forgeries. But the find of the bronze coffin has not been questioned.

The coffin, almost identical with bronze coffins excavated at Ur and other sites,⁶⁴ has been variously dated, but crucial for its dating are the scenes engraved on its silver rim (Fig. 30), which represent rows of Median and Urartian tribute-bearers being marshalled into the presence of an official of exalted rank, perhaps a prince or viceroy. No person of any importance would have had a coffin after the Assyrians had suffered complete subjugation in 609 B.C.⁶⁵ The scenes on the rim must have been engraved at a time at which both nations had submitted to the Scythians or to the Assyrians. Media submitted in 652 and freed itself soon after 625 when Cyaxares II ascended the Median throne. Accordingly, the scenes on the rim must have been engraved between the two dates.

⁶⁴ D 10, 114–16.

⁶⁵ D 215, 215–20.

The personality depicted on the rim was neither an Assyrian governor nor an Urartian or Median king, nor the Mannaeen king.⁶⁶ The most credible identification is Bartatua, 'the Great Scythian king',⁶⁷ who died about 645. By his marriage with the Assyrian royal princess he would have become an Assyrian prince. The engravings suggest that under the terms of the treaty with Esarhaddon the realm of Bartatua may have been regarded by the Assyrians as a fief of Assyria, and he himself as a viceroy in charge of Media, Mannaea and Urartu.

One of the early feats of Bartatua's son Madyes was his victory over the Cimmerians some time after 650. During his reign the Scythians undertook a great raid into the countries south of Assyria and reached the Egyptian border (Hdt. I. 105);⁶⁸ their evil reputation was reflected in a few passages in the Old Testament, mainly by Jeremiah and Zephaniah. The date of this raid is disputed.

A study of Scytho-Assyrian relations during the second half of the seventh century B.C. suggests that the might of the Scythians under both Bartatua and Madyes depended in great measure on their close co-operation with Assyria. But the last great king of Assyria, Ashurbanipal, died in 627, and the young and very able Cyaxares ascended the throne of Media at about that time. Soon the ageing Madyes had to contend with young Cyaxares and managed to hold Nineveh (Hdt. I. 103), probably in 617 or 616. This was the last show of force by the Scythians in Western Asia under Madyes, who died very soon afterwards at the age of some sixty years.

While the position of Assyria worsened, the decisive fact, it seems, was the Scythian change of sides. From 615 onwards Babylonian records mention the Scythians as allies of the Medes, perhaps perforce. Thus Scythian domination 'over Asia' came to an end, and the Medes annexed both Mannaea and Urartu between 609 and 585. The final struggle with the Scythians is said to have taken place shortly before the war of the Medes against the Lydians in 590. The Scythians, 'being afterwards expelled by the Medes, returned in this manner to their own country' (Hdt. IV.4).

The Scythians did not leave any good memory of their 'rule over Asia'. Herodotus (I. 106) says that 'everything was overthrown by their licentiousness and neglect: for, besides the usual tribute, they exacted from each whatever they chose to impose; and in addition to the tribute, they rode round the country and plundered them of all their possessions'. Traces of the Scythian stay in Iran and in other regions of Western Asia are very scanty. They consist of Assyrian and Urartian commemorative inscriptions on rocks, mainly on the border of Transcaucasia, and

⁶⁶ D 215. ⁶⁷ As postulated by Ghirshman.

⁶⁸ 'Scythopolis' in Palestine probably owes its name to Scythian mercenaries in the pay of the Egyptians.

of mentions in Assyrian and Babylonian records. Scythian finds from ancient Urartu belong to the time of Scythian decline in Western Asia. A series of 'Scythian' bronze arrow-heads and other articles come from the top layer of the debris at Argishtikhili, the Urartian fortress near Oktemberian west of Erevan, and from the fortress of Karmir-Blur (Teishebaini) in the same region of Soviet Armenia, both destroyed presumably by the Median army between 609 and 585,⁶⁹ during the conquest of Urartu. A Scythian splinter group may have joined the Median army and taken part in this act of destruction.

3. *The development of Scythian culture*

Almost nothing is known of the forced retreat of the Scythians to 'their own country' (Hdt. iv.1.3). Herodotus says that before entering 'their own country the Scythians found an army of no inconsiderable force ready to oppose them', namely the sons of their slaves and of their wives who had not accompanied them in their expedition into Iran. In fact the opponents were a larger Scythian tribe of the Srubnaya-Khvalynsk stock, descendants of those who had not followed their kindred in the southward drive into Western Asia but had settled in the Ukraine (see above, p. 558).

Herodotus placed the decisive battle in the Crimea without any mention of the Caucasus or the steppe on the river Kuban, although before reaching the Crimea the Scythians must have crossed these. The arrival of the Scythians in the north-west Caucasus at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century B.C. initiated a new period in Scythian and North Caucasian history. Not being numerous enough to spread over all north Caucasus they seized the steppe south of the middle course of the river Kuban. Finds east of the river may be attributed to the descendants of those Scythians who in the early eighth century had settled among the natives and had not proceeded southwards into western Asia. Now, in the early sixth century, they may have been joined by some splinter groups of the Transcaucasian Scythians who had retreated northwards independently of the West Asiatic Scythians.⁷⁰

Well over a hundred settlements, cemeteries and barrow-grave groups have been recorded in the area of the native Late Koban population which was engaged mainly in agricultural activities.⁷¹ In several settlements, however, pottery of the 'early Scythian ware' was found and Scythian elements have also been distinguished in the cemeteries of the Late Koban culture. Evidently in these settlements the Scythians lived side by side with the local population. In later graves, for

⁶⁹ D 118; D 148; D 149; D 150.

⁷⁰ D 221.

⁷¹ D 92; D 93.

example at Goyty,⁷² the impact of the Sauromatian culture is distinguishable throughout the whole area, and in the fourth century the country was already in the possession of the Sauromatians.

The arrival of the West Asiatic Scythians in the Kuban steppe c. 600 B.C. brought about a marked change. The Novocherkassk type of remains was replaced by the new 'Scythian' culture, to which belong barrow-graves in the steppe and settlements and earthworks, situated mainly in the Kuban valley where the indigenous Maeotians lived. The latter buried their dead in 'flat' cemeteries, whereas members of the Scythian ruling class were buried under mounds. The earliest relics found in Scythian graves have close links with the Ziwiye complex and were mostly of Oriental provenance.⁷³

No other Scythian group so clearly reflects the non-Iranian features of its burial rites. Burials with several human sacrifices and with hecatombs of immolated horses were alien to the Srubnaya and Andronovo nomads and the Sarmatians and Sacians (Sakas) east of the Urals, but such funerals of members of the ruling class have been met in Western Asia (Ur), in Transcaucasia in the Bronze Age (Trialeti) and in Armenia in the tenth-ninth centuries B.C. Their practices seem to have been adopted by the Scythians during their stay in Transcaucasia. The idea of the divine origin of the royal power possibly stood at the roots of such usages. In their disregard for the life of their subordinates and in their waste of resources the Kuban Scythians surpassed all royal burials of the period under review.

The earliest Scythian barrow-graves in the Kuban country were excavated at Kelermes. Like most princely burials, they had been generally plundered. Nevertheless, the few intact burials yielded many fine examples of 'Scythian' and Greek toreutic art and other articles of Greek provenance, and also a variety of objects decorated in the Scythian animal style. The finest and most valuable inventory was found in barrow 1/1903 of Kelermes, consisting mainly of items of Assyrian and Urartian origin, presumably brought by the buried king during his retreat from Iran. In barrow 4/1903 a rectangular gold plaque was found divided into regular squares, each containing a stamped figure of a recumbent stag (Pls. Vol., pl. 259). It was evidently modelled on an Urartian prototype and on that of Ziwiye (Pls. Vol., pl. 258).⁷⁴ Another remarkable find from this barrow is the Greek silver mirror overlaid by thin decorated gold sheet; it dated from 580-570.⁷⁵ In barrow-graves of the sixth century B.C. skeletons of immolated horses usually numbered 16 to 24. But the extreme example of waste of resources and of disregard for human life was afforded by the 15 m high Ulskii barrow 1/1898, of

⁷² D 115; D 116.

⁷³ D 173, 297-305; D 129, 22ff.

⁷⁴ D 45, 110, fig. 143.

⁷⁵ D 109; D 172, pl. vi; D 8, 26.

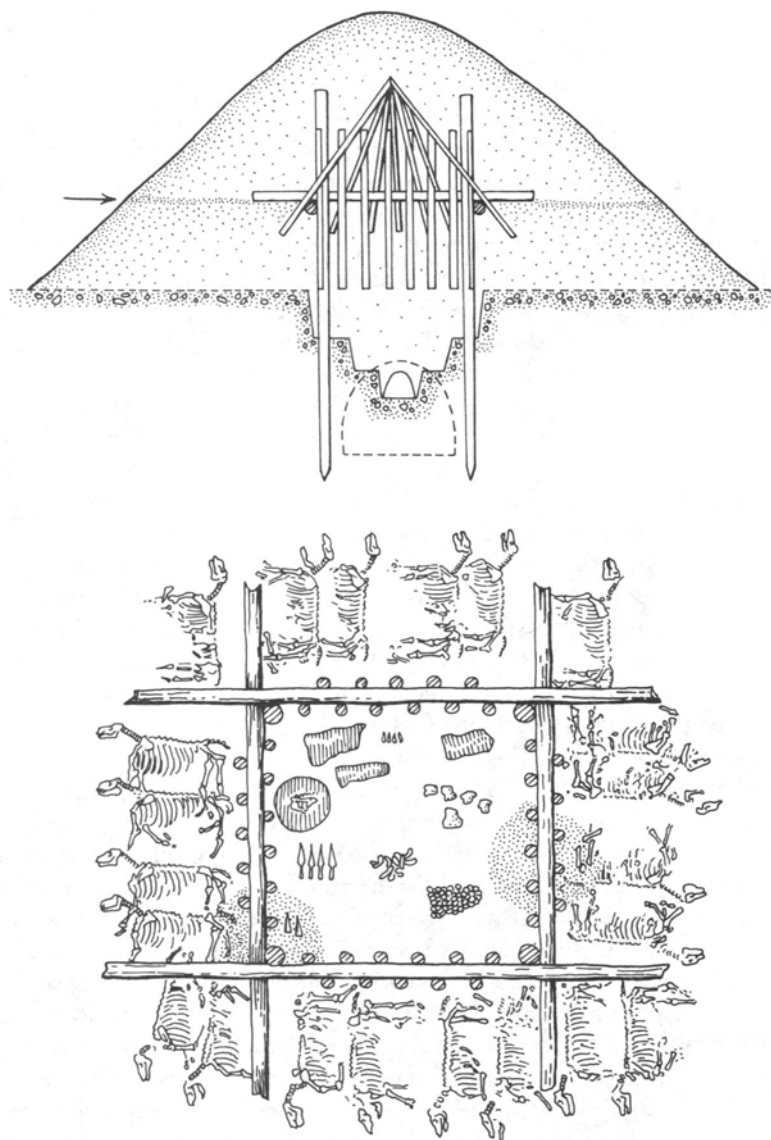


Fig. 31. The Kostromskaya barrow, fifth century B.C. The main burial was in the lowest pit, with other human burials (sacrifices) in the earth above. Over all was a raised wooden platform covered by a pyramidal roof where the weapons and offerings were laid out, and at this level (arrow), outside, were the sacrificed horses. (After D 49, 44-5.)

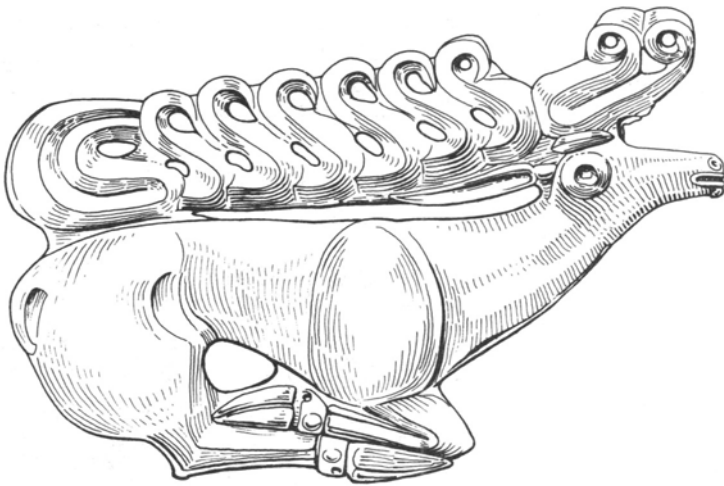


Fig. 32. Gold stag from the iron shield in the Kostromskaya barrow (Fig. 31). (Leningrad, Hermitage Museum 2498/1.)

about 500 B.C., which contained the skeletons of several attendants and over 400 horses and 10 oxen. The layout of the sepulchral construction under the mound corresponded well with Herodotus' description (iv.71-2) of the funeral of a Scythian king.

The Ulskii funeral must have been famous among all Scythians in the North Pontic lands, and its fame must have reached Olbia. During his stay in the city in the mid-fifth century B.C., Herodotus was probably considerably impressed to hear of it, and he recorded it as typical of Scythian rulers. In fact it is unique among Scythians in its grandiosity, and it was more lavish than the Sindian Elisavetinskaya barrow of about 400 B.C., in which several human skeletons were found and skeletons of 'only' 200 horses (see below, p. 573). The Ulskii barrow was plundered in antiquity, and only a few items from its very rich inventory were left. The large number of horses sacrificed in this and other Kuban barrow-graves suggest that horses were the main animal reared by the Kuban Scythians. A barrow-grave of the fifth century at Kostromskaya (Fig. 31) contained skeletons of 13 attendants and 22 horses as well as the famous golden plaque in the shape of a recumbent stag (Fig. 32), a masterpiece which is regarded by many as a perfection of the Scythian animal style.

The burial rites of the Scythian royal and princely burials in the Kuban area and the decorative patterns of the articles found in the earliest graves of this group were alien cultural elements which had been introduced from the south. Furthermore, the relevant articles were for the most part simply products of Assyrian or Urartian workshops which had been acquired by members of the Scythian upper class when still in Iran.

However, once in the Kuban country, no Near-Eastern master-artisans were available to provide their products for the princes. Their role had to be taken over by Greek and Bosporan workshops in which ancient Oriental elements and motifs began to be so blended with those used locally that they applied to the taste and met the wishes of their patrons. In consequence, the art of the Late Scythian period from the fifth century B.C. onwards began to differ considerably from that of the preceding period.

In the second half of the fifth century, the Kuban group lost more and more of its eastern territories: first the area east of the river Laba, and then, by the end of that century, the Kuban territory came under pressure from the advancing Sarmatian Siraces. Thus by 400 B.C. the splendid Scythian culture was extinct there; it survived only in Sindica, the country west of Krasnodar, including the Taman peninsula, where it was adopted by the Sindian ruling class, possibly itself of Scythian origin. The Sindians remained, however, only briefly independent, their country being soon incorporated into the Bosporan kingdom.

At the end of the fifth century, almost suddenly a fully formed Scythian culture appeared in the steppe on the lower Dnieper that had no local antecedents. A study of its remains, in particular of its human and horse sacrifices and of the articles found in its graves, showed that close parallels were to be found only in the Scythian Kuban culture of the preceding period. The Ukrainian group evidently succeeded the Kuban group, being its continuation; it was formed by the Kuban Scythians who by the end of the fifth century were forced to abandon their Caucasian abodes. They were distinct from the Royal Scythians, and have never been so called by Herodotus. Their arrival was not a peaceful affair:⁷⁶ they were one of the nomad groups responsible for the destruction at that time of a large number of settlements in valleys of the Ukrainian steppe rivers.

In the area west of Krasnodar, including the Taman peninsula, and also along the middle Kuban river, the indigenous Maeotians lived in earthworks and settlements, being engaged in agricultural activities and fishing. The Maeotians were not of Iranian stock, to judge from the toponomy of the country. Many scholars maintain that they were of Cimmerian ancestry, akin to the Thracians, but some consider them to have been Caucasian aborigines under Iranian overlordship.⁷⁷ The upper class in this area were the Sindians, a people probably of Scythian origin, possibly of West Asiatic stock, who imposed themselves upon the natives.

Another racial element in this region were the Greeks who in the sixth and fifth centuries founded many colonies, mainly on the southern and

⁷⁶ D 83, 27-35.

⁷⁷ E.g. D 179, 102-23.

western coasts of the Taman peninsula. Among the most important of these were Phanagoria and Hermonassa, which later formed part of the Bosporean state. The state was at first organized as a union of Greek colonies which aimed to protect itself against the native tribes; later, it grew into a powerful kingdom with its capital city Panticapaeum on the western side of the Straits. This Bosporean kingdom stopped the westwards advance of the Sarmatian Siraces.

The kingdom was an important outpost of Hellenic culture, which influenced the neighbouring peoples on both sides of the Straits. Its cities became centres of production for customers in the steppes. They greatly contributed to the development of 'Scythian' art and style, and eventually brought about a marked Hellenization, not only of the Sindian princes, but also of their subjects of lesser rank.⁷⁸

The richly furnished princely barrow-graves of the Sindian country west of Krasnodar, including the Taman peninsula, and the poorly equipped burials in the 'flat' cemeteries of the same area reflect the considerable gap which separated the subdued native population from the Sindian ruling class. A similar gap separated the Maeotians from their Scythian rulers, before they were ousted by the Sarmatians. This is particularly well reflected in the archaeological material from the Scythian earthworks built in the sixth century along the river Kuban on its right bank, and their 'flat' cemeteries. The earthworks were abandoned in the fourth century B.C. on the Sarmatian conquest of the country. But at that time a series of earthworks was constructed along the eastern border of the Sindian territory, evidently to protect the country against a further advance of the Siraces. At about the same time the Elisavetinskaya earthwork was constructed near modern Krasnodar, to which a group of barrow-graves belonged, one, as we have seen, containing 200 skeletons of sacrificed horses.

4. *The Royal Scythians*

According to Herodotus (IV.20), the most valiant and numerous of the Scythian tribes were the Royal Scythians, 'who deem all other Scythians to be their slaves'. They lived 'beyond the river Gerrhus', in the steppe east of the Dnieper up to the Donets, but 'some of them reach the river Tanais' (the lower Don). The Crimean steppe also belonged to them. Only a few burials attributable to these Royal Scythians, whose equipment was proper to the sixth and fifth centuries, have been found in this huge area, c. 500 km wide, and they had mostly been plundered in antiquity. Their meagre number contrasts with the large number of lavishly equipped Scythian burials of the fourth and third centuries in the

⁷⁸ D 75, 257-95; D 40; D 156, 244 n. 19; D 210, 74-9.

same area; and with the very large number of graves of the rank-and-file Scythians of that period, unknown in the Early Scythian period. This leads us to infer that another group of archaeological remains, although not recognized as such, must be considered to represent the Scythians of the Early Scythian period, namely relics of the Late Srubnaya culture. This culture cannot have ceased to exist at the end of the seventh century: it undoubtedly survived to the late fifth century. The remarks of Herodotus are decisive in this matter; for he says (iv.76) that the Scythians studiously avoided the use of foreign customs, and in particular that they avoided 'all Grecian usages' (iv.81). The extreme conservatism of the Scythians of lesser ranks has always to be taken into consideration when estimating the date of relevant archaeological remains.

The bearers of the Late Srubnaya culture were among those who still kept to their ancient ways. The continuity of settlement from the Srubnaya stage to the Scythian stage in ancient Scythia has been emphasized by most scholars,⁷⁹ although they rarely mention that the actual transition did not take place in the early sixth century but later. The Scythian common people began to adopt the 'Scythian culture' and the 'Scythian animal style' not before the late fifth century B.C., and this is true also of the Royal Scythian upper class. Out of sixteen princely barrow-graves of the sixth and fifth centuries, as listed by M. Artamonov,⁸⁰ found within the territory of the Royal Scythians, none was of the sixth century; five were of the advanced stage of the fifth century, and the latest of this group, the very richly equipped royal barrow-grave of Solokha, many times described and published, was of the turn of the fifth to the fourth century. Three barrows of this list were in the Crimea. All others were of the fourth and third centuries B.C.

The earliest princely burials in this area which may be attributed to the Royal Scythians are three secondary burials, two in old mounds excavated at Chernogorovka and Kamyshevakh, both in the region of the middle Donets, and a third, called Malaya Tsimbalka, at Bolshaya Belozerk, south of the Dnieper bend. Their grave-goods were of the Novocherkassk type, and the bronze bits with stirrup-shaped terminals imply that the princes buried there were Scythians. The early graves of the 'Scythian' type investigated within the territory of the Royal Scythians were also nearly all secondary burials in mounds of the Srubnaya culture of the preceding period. Timber constructions found in many Scythian graves exhibit a marked similarity to those found in Srubnaya graves; Scythian sepulchral pottery also shows many features in common with those of the Srubnaya ware. Furthermore, in several graves with a genuine Srubnaya inventory, especially in the region of

⁷⁹ E.g. Grakov, Terenozhkin, and Yatsenko.

⁸⁰ D 8.

Izium and Kramatorsk, 'Scythian' three-edged bronze arrow-heads were found: they indicate the proper date of the graves in question. These convergencies imply a continuity of settlement within the territory of the Royal Scythians between the Srubnaya and Scythian stages, and they indicate that the actual transition did not take place everywhere in the early sixth century but later.

The territory of the Royal Scythians extended eastwards to Port of Remni on the Sea of Azov according to Herodotus (iv.20 and 110), which already belonged to the 'Free Scythians'. The country beyond the port likewise belonged to this people, although Herodotus mentions that 'Part of their country . . . stretches to the Tanais' (the Don). But probably the Donets was meant here, the large tributary of the lower Don, sometimes mistaken for the main river. Accordingly, Scythian burials of the sixth century B.C. found on the lower Don, for example at Kostantinovsk,⁸¹ should be attributed to the 'Free Scythians', a tribe probably of mixed Scytho-Sarmatian origin. So too the Liventsovka earthwork in the town of Rostov-on-Don, which must have been an important harbour in antiquity, was not a Royal Scythian possession. Its upper occupation layer was of the sixth-fifth centuries, i.e. of the Early Scythian period. It was undoubtedly used by Greek merchants for bringing Ionian pottery, which is found in barrow-graves of the wide hinterland. The earthwork was destroyed at the end of the fifth century B.C., presumably by the Sarmatians. A small mound of stones was excavated at Alekseevka (Krivorozhe) on the junction of the Kalitva with the Donets, about 120 km north east of the Liventsovka earthwork. It contained a princely cremation-burial of c. 600 B.C.⁸² Objects of Oriental provenance which formed part of its equipment, included an electrum wreath which probably adorned a bronze helmet, an East Greek zoomorphic beaker, and a silver terminal of an Assyrian stool in the shape of a calf's head (Pls. Vol., pl. 260); they imply that the buried prince was connected with the West Asiatic Scythians and came from the same cultural and tribal circle to which these belonged, and who were buried in the Kuban country in the Kelermes type of interment. He was definitely not a Royal Scythian prince.

A few Early Scythian graves have been found along the coast of the Sea of Azov in the regions of Zhdanov (formerly Mariupol), Berdiansk, and Nogaisk. For the most part they were burials of the local Scythian chiefs of the fifth century. More burials of this period have been investigated in the regions of Izium, Slaviansk, and Kramatorsk, at about twenty sites situated along the north-eastern confines of the Royal Scythian territory, south of the Donets. The earliest was a barrow-grave at Shpakovka, of the fifth century B.C. Other burials were mostly poorly

⁸¹ D 81; D 82, 170-7.

⁸² D 111; D 110, 197ff; D 18, 243; D 1, 63-8.

furnished interments in ancient Srubnaya mounds; occasionally a bronze ornament was found in them but no weapons apart from a few bronze arrow-heads. In this respect these burials differed markedly from graves of the same period in the region further north, in the forest-steppe zone on the Vorskla and Sula (p. 586ff). In the vicinity of Kramatorsk, at Shcheglova, a burial of a local chief was found in a barrow, accompanied by his attendant and his horse; the grave had been rifled, as had almost all better equipped burials in this region. Traces of several short-lived encampments but not of any permanent settlement were recorded.

More burials were investigated in the steppe south of the Dnieper bend, in the region on the river Molochne, in the area east of Skadovsk and in the steppe north of the Shivash, near the Crimean border.⁸³ Here again, they were mostly secondary burials in earlier mounds of the Srubnaya culture, and were poorly equipped.

The steppe country of the Crimea was also in the Scythian domain. The Royal Scythians seem to have been in possession of the whole eastern part of the Crimea up to the Straits in the seventh and early sixth centuries.

Several barrow-graves, flat cemeteries, and settlements have been recorded in the Crimean steppe, including the Kerch peninsula. The camels whose bones were discovered in the upper level of the late Srubnaya settlement at Kirovo were evidently brought there by Scythians.⁸⁴ A few hundred burials have been excavated.⁸⁵ They were mainly of the Srubnaya culture but many were of the Late Scythian period. This applies not only to the burials of the rank-and-file Scythians, but also to the princely burials. Only a few were of the late fifth century B.C.

Crimean Scythians were a sedentary population;⁸⁶ they were in some degree engaged in farming as well as in pastoral activities. Their settlements were usually situated close to small rivers now dried up. Investigations have revealed that the Crimea was relatively densely populated in the Scythian period, although no settlements but only traces of temporary encampments were found. It has also been established that the Crimean Scythians had a considerable admixture of Taurians,⁸⁷ the native population of the Crimea. The impact of Greek culture from the Crimean colonies is well reflected in the culture of the Scythian nobility in the Crimea, and also in that of the Crimean Scythians of lesser ranks.

Over thirty burials, all almost entirely robbed, of a considerably Hellenized Scythian nobility were found in the vicinity of the Greek colony of Nymphaeum. The earliest interments were of the first half of the fifth century, the latest of the early fourth century B.C.⁸⁸

⁸³ See the various articles in D 198.

⁸⁵ D 218; D 217; D 103; D 101; D 207.

⁸⁴ D 16; D 101, 34.

⁸⁶ D 100; D 28.

⁸⁷ D 85.

⁸⁸ D 185.

Noteworthy is the fact that in Scythian rank-and-file burials of the fifth century in this area no articles were found decorated in the Scythian animal style, no golden objects, no parts of horse-harness, although these often appeared in burials of local Scythian nobility. Of importance is also the survival into the Late Scythian period of some burial customs and practices proper to the Late Srubnaya culture. This implies a continuity of settlement in the country and the adoption by the Srubnaya Early Scythians (see above, p. 568) of the 'Scythian' culture brought there by the immigrants.

Scythian graves in the central and western parts of the Crimea were almost exclusively of the Late Scythian period. An exception is formed by two princely barrow-graves in the region of Simferopol, and a third one on the western coast of the Crimea.⁸⁹ In one of these, the Zolotoy Kurgan or 'Golden Barrow', a prince was buried around 500 B.C. The other barrow-grave, called 'Kulakovskii' after its excavator, was of about the mid-fifth century B.C. The third Crimean princely burial, called Karamerkit barrow, lay at Ak-Mechet on the western coast, and apparently was also of the mid-fifth century. Three gold plaques, each with a representation of a recumbent stag, which formed part of the sepulchral equipment, seem to link the buried prince with the West Asiatic Scythians.

5. *Other nomad Scythians*

In the steppe west and north of the lower Dnieper up to the Ingul ('Panticapes') lived the Nomadic Scythians according to Herodotus (iv. 54-7). But Herodotus' description of the Dnieper and other rivers of the area is misleading. His mistake is to regard a large section of the lower Dnieper (Borysthenes) from the beginning of its bend in the north to the junction of the Ingulets ('Hypacyris') in the south as a distinct river, to which he gives the name of 'the Gerrhus'. His assertion (iv. 56) that the supposed Gerrhus, 'flowing towards the sea divides the territory of the Nomadic and the Royal Scythians and discharges itself into the Hypacyris', clearly indicates that 'the Gerrhus' was only a name given to a section of the Dnieper-Borysthenes, and that no such distinct river existed.

Climatic conditions in ancient Scythia were evidently very favourable for settlement during the first millennium B.C. This was the period of the sub-Atlantic climate, more wet and damp than today; no wonder therefore, that the Greeks looked upon Scythia as damp and foggy. The border between the steppe and forest-steppe undoubtedly lay south of the present one, in the Ukraine, and the steppe with its luxuriance of

⁸⁹ D 178; D 8.

grass enabled the nomads to keep large herds of horse and cattle. The wooded country of Hylaea, extending along the lower course of the Dnieper, and the valleys further up the river, were well watered and offered good conditions for agriculture. There lived the Scythian Agriculturalists (Georgoi), whose country extended northwards 'for a ten days' journey' (Hdt. iv. 18).

East of the Ingul lived the Nomadic Scythians who were the western neighbours of the Royal Scythians. The dividing line between the territories of these two tribes was formed by the lower Dnieper. The area of the Nomadic Scythians reached up to the Ingul, in the valley of which already lived the Scythian Agriculturalists. Herodotus says that all this country, 'except Hylaea', was destitute of trees, and he also emphasizes (iv. 19) that the Nomadic Scythians 'neither sow at all, nor plough'. Recent excavations of a number of almost entire barrow-grave cemeteries mainly in the various regions of the steppes on the lower Dnieper have revealed that burials of the rank-and-file Scythians were chiefly secondary interments in these mounds and that only a few mounds contained Scythian primary graves.⁹⁰ The bulk of Scythian burials were of the Late Scythian period, and only a few were Early Scythian. Within the territory of the Nomadic Scythians only a few princely graves of the Early Scythian period were recorded. The earliest was the barrow-grave from Boltyska near Shchorsk,⁹¹ in the steppe c. 70 km west of Dnepropetrovsk; in it was found the upper part of a fine painted East Greek vase. Further west, at Annovka on the upper Ingulets, near the northern limit of the territory of the Nomadic Scythians, a fine Ionian bronze mirror was the only article saved from the contents of a princely barrow of c. 500 B.C.⁹² Both graves evidently were those of the local ruling class which maintained close commercial connexions with Olbia.

The secondary princely cremation-burial uncovered in a big mound of the Bronze Age called the 'Pointed barrow', at Tomakovka west of Zaporozhe,⁹³ is definitely attributable to the Nomadic Scythians. The removal of large boulders from the mound has ruined the grave, usually dated to the late sixth century B.C. Among the articles found there were a gold torque, a gold crescent-shaped plaque decorated with rows of twisted animals, a gold chape, and 200 bronze arrow-heads. The decoration on the gold articles consists of rows of lion-heads, triangles, spirals, some enamelled, executed in the Oriental style adopted by the Scythians in Western Asia. A scabbard has its parallels in the princely barrows of the same period in the Crimean region of Simferopol (see above, p. 577), and the Shumeyko barrow in the country on the Sula east of the Dnieper.⁹⁴ It has been emphasized by some scholars that the grave-

⁹⁰ D 12; D 13; D 51; D 53.

⁹¹ D 142, no. 1; D 1, 63f.

⁹² D 128, 377f; D 142, no. 26.

⁹³ D 142, nos. 30, 33, 34, 37; D 8, 32, 292.

⁹⁴ D 172, 51; D 142, no. 248.

goods of this burial represent a new strange element in the culture of the country. The prince must have been an alien newcomer in the area, who had some connexions with the West Asiatic Scythians; he must have passed through the Tiasmin territory and the country east of the Dnieper.

Of special significance are two princely burials in the neighbourhood of Mikhailovo-Apostolovo.⁹⁵ Both had an underground chamber or 'catacomb' dug down to a depth of over 5 m. Unfortunately both had been ransacked, and little remained from their originally rich inventory. Objects worthy of note were in the Baby grave, a gold plaque decorated with the figure of a recumbent stag, the first example in this area, and in the Raskopana mound a fine decorated semi-oval bronze cauldron on a hollow stand. In the latter mound two skeletons and seven skulls of horses were found, a phenomenon hitherto unknown in the Ukrainian steppe and in particular among the Nomadic Scythians, but common already in the sixth century B.C. in the Caucasian Kuban country. This practice was brought into the Ukraine by the Kuban Scythians as they retreated before the Sarmatian Siraces. The graves have usually been dated c. 450 B.C., but if we take into account the time of the Scythian migration from the Kuban country, their graves in the new country should be dated to the end of the fifth century.

The westernmost Scythian tribe of the steppe were the Alazones, who lived in the area where the Dniester and the Southern Bug flow closest to each other (Hdt. iv. 52). Eastwards their country seems to have extended up to the Ingul and to have covered the territory of the Sabatinovka culture of the preceding period (tenth to eighth centuries). Their northern neighbours were the 'Scythian-Husbandmen'. The Alazones 'fed on wheat, onions, garlic, lentils and millet' according to Herodotus (iv. 17). This may have been true of those who lived in the valleys of the Southern Bug and other rivers but the economy of those who lived in the steppe must have been based chiefly on nomad pastoralism. These 'Husbandmen' seem to have been descendants of the indigenous people of the Late Bronze Age Sabatinovka culture, of Thracian or Cimmerian origin, who in the late second millennium were subdued first by the Srubnaya Iranian intruders with whom they subsequently mingled, and then, in the early sixth century, by the Scythians. According to V. Tomaschek,⁹⁶ the name of the Alazones derived from Aryan 'Ara-Zana', which means 'heterogeneous'. The non-Iranian, indigenous Thracian element must have considerably prevailed among the Alazones for them to have been given that name.⁹⁷

The country of the Alazones has been insufficiently investigated.

⁹⁵ D 8, 33, 290, 292; D 142, nos. 10, 15, 18, 20-4, 29, 32, 35, 38.

⁹⁶ Tomaschek, 'Alazones' in P-W.

⁹⁷ D 186.

Around 800 B.C. most settlements of the pre-Scythian Sabatinovka culture, situated mainly in the river valleys, were destroyed by the conquering Early Scythians. Many were subsequently rebuilt and survived at least to the sixth century B.C. The economy of the inhabitants was based, as before, on agriculture and animal husbandry. Archaeological remains of this period compared with those of the preceding one reflect the impoverishment of the population.

6. *Scythian-Husbandmen*

To the north of the Alazones were the Scythian-Husbandmen (Aroteres) of Herodotus, occupying the fertile black-earth region of the forest-steppe zone which stretches along 250 km of the middle course of the Dnieper and is about 100 km wide in the south and up to 250 km in the region west of Kanev. Archaeological remains from the fifth to the third century B.C. have been listed by V. G. Petrenko.⁹⁸ Some fifty burials in about twenty sites, known as the Middle Dnieper group, were of the Early Scythian period. Within it two somewhat differing groups have been distinguished, namely the Tiasmin or Cherkassy branch in the south, and the Kiev branch north of it.

The common people of both groups were agriculturalists who 'did not sow wheat for food but for sale' (Hdt. iv. 17). They were not genuine Iranians but a people of Thracian stock, descendants of the people of the Chornoles culture, now governed by a Scythian ruling class. The earliest Scythian remains, found on the border of the steppe and the forest-steppe zones, show unmistakable Oriental and Transcaucasian features and links. They were presumably the archaeological traces of the West Asiatic newcomers who subdued the native agricultural population, and initiated the formation there of a coherent group of the Scythian culture called the Tiasmin group; it soon extended further north to form the Kiev group of the local Scythian culture. Remains of both groups reflect the organization of its warlike people into a series of smaller territorial units.

The population of both groups lived in open undefended settlements, one of the earliest of which was that at Tarasova Gora near Zhabotin, founded c. 600 B.C. There were also large earthworks. That at Sharpivka near Zlatopol, built in the second half of the sixth century and abandoned in the fourth century B.C., was over 16 ha in area. It had a large industrial quarter, where remains of metallurgical workshops were found in which small implements and utensils were manufactured. In the debris a gold plaque with a stamped bull-head was found, and also a large

⁹⁸ D 146. For the Greek imports see D 142.

number of sherds of imported Greek and Olbian pottery, which implied close contact with Olbia. The earthwork at Pastyrsk near Zlatopol, called Galushchino, had a kind of citadel-acropolis protected by a triple rampart; it must have been the seat of a chief or governor of the district. The huts of the Early Scythian period were mainly pit-dwellings, whereas those of the fourth and third centuries were built on the surface. The largest earthwork, covering 52 ha, was at Matronin. The ramparts of these earthworks had a core of hard-baked clay upon which earth was mounded up, and the whole was strengthened by vertical timber posts. The Matronin earthwork was one of several forts built along the southern confines of the country of the Tiasmin group. They were evidently built to protect the country from the assaults of the steppe nomads.

Each earthwork had one or more barrow-grave cemeteries with up to 400 mounds each, evidently burial grounds of inhabitants of the sites. They dated from the sixth to the third centuries. Their number points to a relatively dense population and attests the continuity of settlement during the whole Scythian period. Skeletons lay supine, seldom crouched; cremations also occurred. Graves in these cemeteries were of two distinct types. The more common were simple shafts covered with beams, modestly equipped and without any Greek or Oriental imports. The others were large, nearly square burial chambers dug in the ground, with posts in the corners and one in the centre supporting the roof; some were provided with a corridor and steps cut in the earth. Buried in these structures were members of the Scythian ruling class. Many graves had evidently been plundered soon after the funeral. The difference of types indicates a difference within the society. Another proof of the complexity of the Tiasmin society is seen in the well-fortified strongholds. Presumably they were inhabited by the Iranian Scythians who were descendants of the West Asiatic Scythians.

The origin of the Scythian conquerors is suggested by the large number of parts of equipment, personal ornaments, weapons and so on of West Asiatic provenance found in the earliest 'Scythian' graves and settlements of the Tiasmin and Kiev groups. A large number of West Transcaucasian (Georgian) articles were also found:⁹⁹ they were manufactured not later than the end of the seventh century B.C., and were most likely brought by the Transcaucasian Scythians who joined their West Asiatic kinsmen in their retreat into Europe (see above, p. 560). One of the West Asiatic inventions was scale armour which, once introduced into the Ukraine, came into general use among the Scythian aristocracy.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ D 95; D 93, fig. 10; D 193.

¹⁰⁰ D 21.

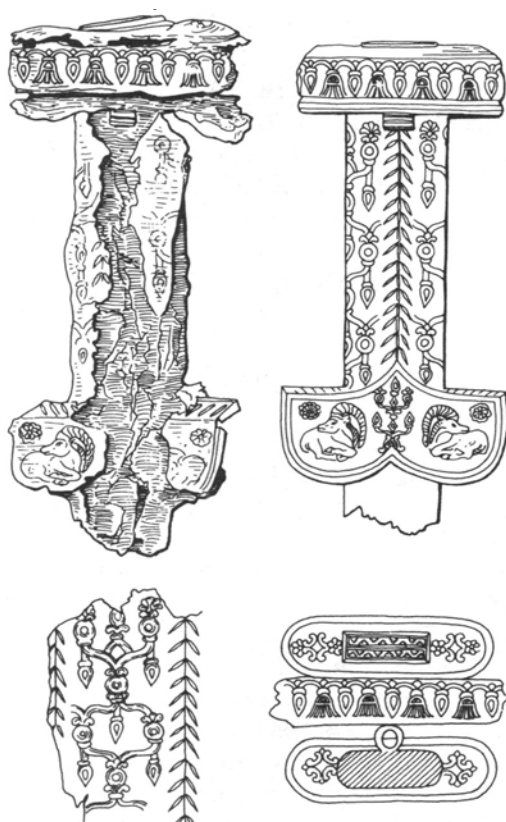


Fig. 33. Gold casing of a sword hilt from the Litoi (Melgunov) barrow-grave, with a reconstruction drawing and details of the decoration. About 600 B.C.

To this West Asiatic group belongs the earliest and most important find of the area, the Litoi barrow-grave, or Melgunov barrow.¹⁰¹ It lay near the sources of the Ingulets, at Kutcherovka near Znamenka, about 25 km north east of Kirovograd, on the southern limit of the Tiasmin group of the Scythian-Husbandmen, some 8 km from the Chornoles earthwork. This was a richly endowed royal cremation-burial of a ruler of West Asiatic extraction. All authorities concerned with this find emphasize its predominantly Oriental aspect, although they also admit the presence of Greek elements in the decoration of some articles. The sword (Fig. 33) and its scabbard were Oriental made not later than 600 B.C.

Of interest is the barrow-grave of the mid-sixth century excavated at Mala Ofirna near Fastov,¹⁰² south west of Kiev, one of a group of four

¹⁰¹ D 128, 171-3; D 8, 22, 291f; D 142, no. 226.

¹⁰² D 147, 164ff.

mounds. It is the northernmost of all barrows of the middle Dnieper branch of the Scythian culture. A warrior, presumably a local chief, was buried there with his wife and two serfs; the skeletons of the serfs lay outside the main burial chamber. The timber construction of the grave was set on fire after the funeral, and the mound was raised over the cinders. The grave was furnished with weapons, horse-gear, personal ornaments of bronze, and several clay vessels. Horse cheek-pieces found there were of iron and their type was characteristic of the Early Scythian period in the north-west Caucasus; similar ones were found in the Karmir-Blur Urartian fortress destroyed by the Scythians (see above, p. 557).¹⁰³ They suggest that the buried warrior might have belonged to the Western Scythian newcomers into the Ukraine.

The area of the Tiasmin group of the Scythian culture, and possibly also that of the Kiev group, was undoubtedly identical with the country of Gerrhus which Herodotus described. We may guess that the names Gerrhus and Gerrhi were pre-Scythian, possibly of the Chornoles people, which were still in use in the time of the Early Scythian successors.

Greek imported articles found in graves and earthworks were probably obtained in exchange for cereals and other agricultural products exacted as tribute from the subject population. Another important source of wealth for the Scythian rulers was their favourable position on the main commercial route that connected Olbia with the hinterland. It ran northwards from Olbia into the centre of the Tiasmin group; then, after crossing the Dnieper, it turned eastwards and followed the age-old gold trade route to the Urals and even the Altai mountains in eastern Kazakhstan.¹⁰⁴ 'Some Scythians frequently go there,' wrote Herodotus (IV.24), 'and the Scythians who go to them transact business by means of seven interpreters and seven languages.' It is evident that Olbia was a most important commercial and cultural centre in the north Pontic area for at least two centuries and maintained very friendly relations with the surrounding peoples.

A number of earthworks, a few scores of settlements and some flat cemeteries of the Scythian age have been recorded in the relatively wide strip of land along the northern coast of the Black Sea between the Southern Bug/Dnieper and the Dniester limans.¹⁰⁵ They are attributable to the Callipidae or 'Greek-Scythians' (Hdt. IV.17), whom some authors called Mixhellenes. These were considerably Hellenized 'Scythians', or rather Thracians.¹⁰⁶ Remains attributable to this people have been found

¹⁰³ D 65, 114, figs. 1 and 3; D 148.

¹⁰⁴ The relevant literature is given in articles of Sulimirski in *BlA* 7 (1968), 47-9; 8/9 (1970), 122; 12 (1973), 151f; and 13 (1976), 225.

¹⁰⁵ D 186, 13ff.

¹⁰⁶ D 186, 23ff. See also a collection of articles in D 4.

also in the valley of the Southern Bug as far northwards as Voznesensk, and as far westwards as the Dniester. On the west side of the Dniester, in Bessarabia, lived the Thracian Getae, and to the north east of the coastal strip the 'Scythians', who were Thracian people under Scythian overlordship.

Investigations have revealed that the Callipidae were a settled population who lived in open settlements and earthworks, several of which have been excavated. They were engaged in cultivating wheat, millet, and other crops. Animal husbandry was also of importance, and maritime fishing was well developed. Houses were mostly of pisé on stone foundations, and graves, mostly flat, were grouped in small cemeteries. Barrow-graves have also been recorded in small groups, for example at Solonchaki,¹⁰⁷ in which presumably the Scythian overlords were buried. The graves were richly furnished with Greek pottery and bronze objects; in an early barrow scale armour was found with daggers, bronze arrow-heads, and other weapons. The country around Olbia seems to have been under direct Olbian rule; for the settlements and cemeteries were purely Greek and the graves contained many Greek articles.¹⁰⁸

During the Early Scythian period Olbian connexions with the Tiasmin group of the Scythian culture were very close. Members of the Scythian royal family seem often to have visited the city; some even settled in the city or in its vicinity according to Herodotus, who has also described the reaction of the rank-and-file Scythians to such behaviour by their superiors (iv. 76–80). The period ended in the late fifth century B.C. when a large number of settlements in the area were destroyed.

The region on the lowest course of the Dnieper around modern Kherson seems to have been the country of Hylaea, 'full of trees of all kinds' (Hdt. iv. 54, 76). A richly endowed princely burial of c. 500 B.C. at Kherson-Rozhnovka was ruined by treasure-seekers; it was later investigated by V. I. Goshkevich.¹⁰⁹ This was a secondary burial in an ancient mound. Unfortunately, not much of its inventory has been saved: thirteen arrow-heads and an iron blade of a knife imply that a man must have been buried there, but other articles must have belonged to the equipment of a princess or queen: four gold earrings, a necklace of gold, carnelian and clay beads, and a very fine Ionian bronze mirror-handle in the shape of a goddess. We may conjecture that a chief and his wife of the local branch of the Scythian Agriculturalists were buried there. Sherds of Ionian pottery were also found.

The Scythian Agriculturalists seem to have lived mainly in the valley of the lower Dnieper. Attributable to them are settlements of the Early

¹⁰⁷ D 34. ¹⁰⁸ D 213; D 214.

¹⁰⁹ D 220, 51f; D 128, 375–7; D 142, nos. 17, 25, 31; D 8, 32, 291.

Scythian period such as Khortitsa and Nizhniy Rogatchik.¹¹⁰ Presumably to the same group belonged a series of settlements of the Early Scythian period along the north-western coast of the Sea of Azov, from Kirilovka on Lake Molochne eastwards up to about Mariupol (Zhdanov). These settlements of the 'Obitochnaya 12 type' are considered to be a further development of the Late Bronze Age culture of the region.¹¹¹ The identity of the people of these coastal settlements remains unknown. They were not mentioned by Herodotus.

The territory of the Scythian-Husbandmen probably extended westwards nearly to the region of Vinnitsa. North of it lay the territory of the Milogrady culture attributable to the Neuri (Hdt. iv.17.100, 105), presumably a Baltic-speaking people. Herodotus says that 'they observe Scythian customs', 'they seem to be magicians', and 'once every year each Neurian becomes a wolf for a few days and then is restored again to his original state'.¹¹² The southern neighbours of the Scythian-Husbandmen, chiefly in the steppe, were the Alazones.

The western confines of the Scythian-Husbandmen have not been sufficiently investigated, and only a small number of relics of the Early Scythian period have been recorded. The most important relic, although possibly already outside the Scythian confines, is the earthwork at Nemirov south east of Vinnitsa, the largest earthwork in the Ukraine west of the Dnieper. It is about 1,000 ha in area, encircled by a rampart 6-9 m high and up to 32 m wide at the base, which ran for a distance of some 5.5 km. A stream flows through it. It was once ruined by enemy action and was then reconstructed on a larger scale; the date of its destruction has not been established. The tentative suggestion is that the earthwork was constructed in the pre-Scythian period by the native population of the Holihady culture, presumably of Thracian stock. Its first destruction might have been due to the conquering Scythians, and the second destruction, after which the site was abandoned, was probably connected with the advance c. 400 B.C. of eastern racial elements, possibly the Sauromatians. This is the date at which the 'citadel', surrounded by an additional rampart, was destroyed. The earthwork probably served as a refuge for the people of the surrounding country.

Important articles found in the earthwork were sherds of East Greek vases of the late seventh or early sixth century B.C., and a fragment of an Olbian bronze mirror of the sixth century B.C. Zoomorphic figurines of horses and dogs, and a large number of animal bones were found in the kitchen refuse.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ D 14. ¹¹¹ D 91.

¹¹² The belief in the existence of werewolves is still current among the Byelorussian people in the same area.

¹¹³ D 132, 201f; D 41, 84-9; and, for the Greek imports, D 142, nos. 2, 5, 6, 106, 117, 131, 154.

Another Early Scythian earthwork was investigated at Severinovka near Zhmerinka, about 60 km west of Nemirov.¹¹⁴ Two occupation layers have been distinguished, one of the pre-Scythian Late Bronze Age, and the other of the Archaic Scythian period. When the defensive constructions were built, the settlement was already in existence. Several graves with crouched skeletons lay within the earthwork, but no barrow-graves of the Early Scythian period were found in the vicinity. The remains found in the earthwork show close parallels with those of the Scythian West Podolian group. No Greek imported pottery was present, and barrow-graves in the area were almost exclusively of the Late Scythian period.

7. *The country east of the middle Dnieper*

Hundreds of barrow-graves and over 150 settlements of the Scythian age have been recorded and investigated in the Ukrainian forest-steppe zone east of the middle Dnieper. The archaeological material bears a decisive 'Scythian' character. Settlements, earthworks, and burials were concentrated in the valleys of the few main rivers of the country and have been called after the rivers, the Sula group in the west, the Vorskla group in the centre, and the Donets group in the east. A smaller concentration appears further east, near Voronezh. These remains have recently been treated in a series of special monographs.¹¹⁵ Some authors consider that all these groups formed an entity, which they call the 'Zolnichnaya culture' (the Ash-Mounds culture).¹¹⁶ The presence of kitchen and other refuse in these mounds, usually close to dwellings, has not been explained. The Sula and Donets groups differ somewhat from each other; the Vorskla group shows marked deviations.

Many earthworks of the Sula group have been recorded. Built by the mid-sixth century B.C., they were abandoned in the fourth century. The largest, at Basovka on the upper Sula,¹¹⁷ is nearly 2 km long and 500 m wide. It had moats up to 2 m wide, and its ramparts were 8 m wide and about 3 m high. The core was of baked clay, as in the Tiasmin group west of the Dnieper. Sherds of Greek pottery and other imported articles of the late sixth century indicate the beginning of commercial relations with Greek colonies.

Human and horse sacrifices were the exception. Instead, horse-harness was deposited in the grave, and in a few cases as many as eighteen or twenty. Cheek-pieces of bone or antler, with carved terminals,

¹¹⁴ D 160.

¹¹⁵ The Sula group: D 69. The Vorskla group: D 90. The Donets group: D 180; D 181; D 105. Other, smaller groups: D 2, 134ff; D 222; D 164.

¹¹⁶ E.g. D 105.

¹¹⁷ D 68. For Greek imports see D 142, nos. 43, 64, 72, 140, 156, 181, 253, etc.

represent one of the most characteristic items of the Scythian horse-harness,¹¹⁸ more than 120 pairs having been found in the graves of the Sula group alone. At the earliest stage they were frequently made of iron. Animal bones were identified mainly as those of domestic species, only 10 per cent being of wild animals. The population was evidently engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry, hunting playing a subordinate role.

The most striking discoveries at the Basovka earthwork were the bones of seventeen individuals at several parts of the site and in various levels of the occupation layer, mixed with bones of animals and kitchen refuse. These human bones were intact and unbroken. Human bones were also found in similar circumstances in at least seven earthworks within the Sula and Vorskla groups.¹¹⁹ This leads us to the description by Herodotus of a people that lived somewhere in the region during the sixth and fifth centuries. He says (iv. 106) 'of these nations they are the only people that eat human flesh'. He calls them 'the Androphagi' (man-eaters). We may identify the Sula group as the Androphagi. We shall return to this theme later.

Princely barrow-graves were mostly large in size, some being over 20 m high and up to 90 m in diameter. Remarkable features are the abundance of weapons and the large number of articles of North Caucasian provenance, found mostly in the earliest graves of the group. This implies that they were brought into the country by conquering Scythians coming from the Caucasian area, partly no doubt from the Kuban group but mainly from the central North Caucasian branch.

One of the largest barrow-graves of the Sula group and one of the earliest was the huge barrow 'Starshaya Mogila' at Aksiutintsy. Its grave-shaft measured 8.5 m by 5.7 m and it was 4 m deep. Partly plundered, it had no gold articles or Greek pottery, but there remained a profusion of weapons, two bronze 'standards' or 'pole tops', and many parts of horse harness, including 15 pairs of bits and bone or antler cheek-pieces. Several objects were decorated in the Scythian animal style. Another richly equipped princely burial was the Shumeyko barrow-grave of the early sixth century. The people of the group were probably descended from the Early Scythians who had settled in the North Caucasus c. 800 B.C. Around 600 they had been forced by the advance of the West Asiatic Scythians to move again and so entered the Ukrainian forest-steppe zone east of the Dnieper. They were evidently different from the Royal Scythians; their earliest grave-goods bore a marked North Caucasian character. Herodotus (iv. 18) considered them a distinct people, not in any respect Scythian (iv. 106), and called them the Androphagi, evidently a descriptive name, not their tribal name, which remains unknown.

¹¹⁸ D 69, 106; D 67, 38ff.

¹¹⁹ D 70, 29, 35.

The Donets group is thought by some to be closely related to the Sula group. About 80 settlements, 20 earthworks and 25 barrow-grave cemeteries of the Early Scythian period have been recorded in the forest-steppe zone on the middle Donets, chiefly in the region of Kharkov and Izium. They are very similar but inferior to those of the Sula group. Burials were almost exclusively secondary ones in ancient mounds. Graves were at the bottom of quadrangular shafts and were usually covered with timber. No cremations were found. Many graves had been plundered in antiquity, and in a few cases human sacrifice immolations were noted. Graves were better furnished than contemporary ones in the steppe further south and contained small quantities of weapons. Life was evidently insecure, as we see also from the earthworks. Only a few graves had Greek pottery or jewellery of bronze or occasionally gold or silver. The burial rites show connexions with the Bondarykha¹²⁰ and other local cultures of the Late Bronze Age, which formed the substratum for the Scythian culture of the whole region. The group may be attributed to the Melanchlaeni.

The Vorskla group, formed first in the late seventh century, is of special interest. It was created by invaders of the Chornoles culture from the Ukrainian forest-steppe country west of the Dnieper, who were probably descended from the North Caucasian Cimmerians. The flat cremation-burial at Butenki,¹²¹ the southernmost point of finds of the Vorskla group, may be that of their leader.

The settlements of the group were mostly 'open' and lay chiefly in the southern part of the area, whereas the earthworks were typical of the northern part. Huts were built at ground level, and all settlements had *zolniks* (ashy mounds) of kitchen refuse of animal bones and potsherds.

The largest earthwork of the group was at Belsk on the Vorskla and may be identified with the 'wooden town of Gelonus' (Hdt. IV.108),¹²² which consisted of three distinct earthworks and an encircling rampart 30 km long. Two earthworks of the mid- and late-seventh century lie within the enclosed area of 4,020 ha but are 5 km distant from each other. The third, the Kuzeminskoe earthwork, was built in the fourth century to defend the adjoining river port. The earlier earthworks were inhabited by different peoples, the indigenous Budini and the Geloni.

The eastern earthwork was a political and industrial centre. Traces of many workshops were found, and copper and iron were smelted from ores brought from outside. Potsherds in the lower strata were of the same type and kind as those of the Chornoles culture of the forest-steppe west of the Dnieper. The western earthwork, on the other hand, had pottery deriving from a local ware of the Bondarykha culture of the pre-Scythian period, and kindred to that of the Sula and Donets groups.

¹²⁰ D 67, 26ff.¹²¹ D 89, 66ff.¹²² D 184, 96, fig. 1.

Noteworthy was the find in the western earthwork of a bronze flange-hilted sword of Naue IIA type¹²³ of Central European provenance. The large amount of Greek pottery found in both earthworks implies that the site was an important commercial emporium on the Olbian eastern trade route in the fifth century B.C. (Hdt. IV.24).

Barrow-graves formed larger cemeteries which were mostly attached to a settlement or earthwork. That at Machukhy consisted of over 150 mounds. Burials were for the most part poorly furnished. Two richly furnished graves c. 500 B.C. deserve mention, both at Lukhachevka, not far from the Belsk earthwork. A rare object for this area was a decorated wooden bow-case at Opishlanka and a quiver at Vitova Mogila. The decoration consisted of rows of small figures pressed from below on thin gold plates, representing undefined animals in the one case, and rows of panthers, ibexes, and griffins in the other. All the figures were typical of West Asiatic decorative art.

Finally, the isolated Scythian group south of Voronezh should be mentioned. Its settlements, earthworks, and best known cemeteries, at Mastiugino and 'Chastye Kurgany',¹²⁴ do not differ from those of the Sula and Donets groups. What is striking is the relatively large amount of Greek pottery and of other imports, which were probably due to the position of the Voronezh group on the Olbian trade route. Connexions with Olbia were very lively from late in the sixth until the end of the fifth century, when they ceased altogether. They were replaced by Bosporan connexions, which were consequent on the rise of the Sarmatians who supplanted the Scythians.

8. *Conclusion*

In this short account of the origins and the distribution of the Scythian tribes it has not been possible to discuss in detail the culture, the way of life and the internal organization of the various peoples. The written sources tell us little of the tribal rulers, their names and their sequence, and the narrative which Herodotus has given of the invasion of Scythia by Darius is reserved for Volume IV. However, the study of the funeral rites and of the equipment which has been found in the graves reveals that in the early stages the social differences within each tribe were not very marked. Later the differences became greater, especially in those tribes or groups of tribes which subdued alien peoples.

Considerable transformations in the cultural and political scenery of ancient Scythia and the adjacent countries took place during the late fifth and early fourth century. These were a consequence of the advance from the east of the Sarmatian tribes, who ultimately mingled with the

¹²³ See D 27; D 71; D 183; D 184; D 133.

¹²⁴ D 50.

Scythians and were absorbed. Thereby the Early Scythian period came to an end. The Late Scythian period, which followed, had a hybrid culture, to which several factors made their contribution, but principally the traditions of the Early Scythian period and the culture of the Sarmatian invaders. The history of that period lies beyond the scope of this chapter.

CHAPTER 33*b*

THRACE BEFORE THE PERSIAN ENTRY INTO EUROPE

G. MIHAILOV

I. SOURCES

The sources for this period are neither rich nor of a consistent value. Of contemporary literary sources we have first the evidence of the Homeric poems,¹ then some very scanty passages in Hesiod, a few fragments of lyric poets such as Archilochus and Alcaeus, to which may be added some data, fragmentary and imprecise, in the logographers, especially Hecataeus. The historians Herodotus and Thucydides provide valuable, if limited, information. In later Greek and Latin literature can be found statements directly bearing on our period, for example in Aristotle or Strabo, or in the scholia of Homer or of Apollonius Rhodius. There are in addition indirect literary references; they are concerned with later events, but show a process of evolution from earlier times. To this first category of sources should be added the material evidence provided by archaeologists, which is, however, in itself not very rich.

II. A GEOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

After the migrations during the second half of the second millennium and the first centuries of the first millennium, the Thracians were settled in an extensive area stretching from the Euxine (Black) Sea to the neighbourhood of the Axios (Vardar), and from the Aegean Sea to the Transdanubian lands (below, Section IV). They straddled the Propontis (the Sea of Marmora), and had a foothold also in the Troad and in Bithynia.

Geographically, their country offers a varied picture of mountains and plains watered by many wide rivers and their tributaries. To the north,

¹ It has to be borne in mind that there are great difficulties in extracting historical facts from the world of the Homeric poems. Containing many layers of traditions, they often interpret 'the past' in contemporary terms, and treat the 'present' in a manner archaic and traditional for the purposes of epic. Similarly, the 'present' does not lend itself to a precise chronology; it stretches over a span of several centuries, from the ninth or eighth centuries to the time of Pisistratus, in whose court it seems the poems reached their final literary form. This all naturally affects those passages which concern the Thracians. See D 246A.

Thrace is divided into two parts by the Stara Planina or Balkan range (the ancient Haemus), 550 km in length with an average width of 50 km and an average height of 735 m (highest peak 2,376 m). It is pierced by passes in several places. In the south, there is the Sredna Gora range, 285 km long and no more than 50 km wide, and fairly low (highest summit 1,604 m), whose ancient name we do not know (if it had one), as it might not have been considered an independent feature. Further to the south rises the impressive bulk of the mountains of Rhodope, 240 km long and 100 km wide, with an average height of 785 m (highest peak 2,191 m). Like the Stara Planina and the Sredna Gora, this area provides fairly good living conditions. Adjoining this range is Rila, the highest mountain in the Balkan peninsula, with an average height of 1,487 m (highest peak 2,925 m), a wild and desolate mountain, with more than 150 glacial lakes at a height of 2,100–2,400 m. Its ancient name was apparently Dunax or Donuca.² Close alongside Rila is Pirin Planina, which extends into inhospitable rocky escarpments between the valleys of the Mesta (Nestus) and the Struma (Strymon) and harbours more than 120 lakes at a height of nearly 2,000 m (highest peak 2,015 m). Its ancient name is unknown, but as it represents a natural extension of Rila, it is reasonable to suppose that the whole range of Rila and Pirin bore the name of Dunax. Between Stara Planina and Rila is Mt Vitoša, the ancient Scombrus (or Scomius or Scopius),³ which does not cover a very large area – 20 km long and about 19 km wide – but is relatively high (2,290 m). To the west rises a long range of mountains which separates the valley of the Strymon from that of the Axios, Osogovska Planina, about 110 km long and 49 km wide (highest peak 2,252 m), Vlahina Planina (Pastuša; highest peak 1,924 m) and Maleševska Planina (highest peak 1,744 m), the last apparently identifiable as the ancient Cercine.⁴ To the extreme south rises Belasica, the ancient Orbelus (highest peak 2,029 m). If the Orbelus of Herodotus (v. 16) is Belasica, it is not always so for some later writers: the name was used to include other mountains in the vicinity. For lack of accurate information, Orbelus was for Arrian (*Anab.* 1.1.4–6.) merely the southern ramifications of Pirin.⁵ Not far from Belasica is Kruša Planina, the ancient Dysoron (1,179 m). One should mention also Pârnar-dag or Kušnica, the ancient Pangaeum (1,872 m). Finally, along the length of the Euxine Sea stretches the Strandža Planina which is 260 km in length and as wide as 80–90 km in places, not high (highest peak 1,031 m) but fairly difficult to surmount. Its early name is unknown, for the ‘mons Asticus’ of the Peutinger Table is not Thracian, the name being taken from the tribe of the Astae.

² The sources are in D 228, 153. The description of the Donuca mountain in Livy XL.58 suits it well; see D 237 I, 242–3.

³ D 228, 459.

⁴ D 237 I, 167.

⁵ D 237 I, 167f; D 240, 198f.

To the north flows the Danübe, the ancient Istros or Danuvius, which irrigates a large area of Thrace, and whose tributaries are the great rivers Morava (the ancient Margus-Brongus), Timok (Timacus), Lom (Almus), Cibrica (Ciabrus), Ogosta (Augusta?), Iskâr (Oscius, Oescus), Vit (Utus), Osâm (Asamus), Jantra (Athrys, Ieterus), and Rusenski Lom (Almus? Artanes?). The Kamčija (Panysus) discharges its waters into the Black Sea. In antiquity, there were yet other rivers since dried out, such as the Noës (Hdt. iv.49), which apparently flowed near the township of Novae (Svištov).⁶ The rivers which flow south are the great Marica river (Hebrus), with its three main tributaries, the Tundža (Tonzus), Arda (Ardescus, Artescus), and Ekrene (Agrianes, Erginus), and to the west, the Mesta (Nestus) and the Struma (Strymon). The Vardar (Axius), whose tributaries are the Bregalnica (Astibus), the Cerna (Erigon) and lesser rivers, drains a large area which was inhabited in antiquity by several tribes of differing ethnic origins.

The area had relatively few lakes, some of which have been drained recently. They were mainly in the southern regions: Derkos (Delcus), Ismaris, Tahino (Cercenitis), Butkovo (Prasias), Burugjol (Bistonis), Beşikgjol (Bolbe), and, near the Danube delta, the Raselm lagoon (Halmyris, Salmyris).

Thrace possessed some very large fertile plains: the Danubian plain, the plain of Marica, and the coastal sector facing the Aegean up to the Vardar, as well as the plain of Serdica and the valleys of the Mesta, Struma, Bregalnica, and Morava.

The country contained many forests, whose timber was much valued by the Greeks for ship-building. It was rich in fish and game; special mention should be made of buffalo and bison in Maedica and Paeonia, and even panther and lion in Aegean Thrace, which later all vanished. In addition, some parts of Thrace were fairly rich in precious metals and in iron and copper ores, and in particular gold and silver were mined in Aegean Thrace: on Mt Pangaeum, in Thasos, on Mt Dysoron, and Mt Bermium. Some rivers had gold-bearing sand.

III. MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS AND THE CIMMERIAN PROBLEM

After the confused period of the great migrations, late in the second millennium and early in the first millennium, Thrace experienced a relatively calm period. The movements of tribes – which hardly ceased before the Roman epoch – were more or less partial, and were not reflected in the general physiognomy of the country ethnically speaking;

⁶ D 228, 332. V. Georgiev correctly explains the rivers Atlas, Auras, Tibisis, Noës, and Artanes as southern tributaries of the Danube, but his identifications are hypothetical; cf. for the identification of Artanes, D 256.

this was the period of consolidation for the Thracian people. A more considerable change took place in the region to the east of the lower Axios, where the Thracian tribes had to endure Macedonian conquest (below, Section IV). The Cimmerian problem merits special attention.

Between the years 700 and 650 B.C., the Cimmerians, under pressure from the Scythians, overran Asia Minor (Hdt. iv. 11–12; vii. 20). Some sources give them as allies the Treres and the Edones (Strab. i. 3. 21; xiv. 4. 8; St. Byz. 97. 16), which indicates that a wave must have passed through the Balkans and the Propontid area.⁷ Thucydides (ii. 96. 4) speaks of the Treres in Thrace in the Serdica region, while a rather obscure text of Strabo (i. 3. 18) places them 'with the Thracians' near Lake Bistonis, evidence which probably means that they were newcomers amongst the original inhabitants of the region.⁸ This tradition is somewhat confused, especially as Strabo treats the Treres of Asia Minor sometimes as Cimmerians (i. 3. 18, cf. xiv. 1. 10), and sometimes as Thracians (xiii. 1. 8, cf. also St. Byz. 634. 3), which leads one to conclude that the European Treres had nothing in common with the Treres from Asia Minor who were allies of the Cimmerians.⁹ As for the Edoni or Edones¹⁰ – whose principal tribes were the Edones, the Mygdones, and the Sithones (Strab. vii fr. 11), to whom one might add the Odones, the Panaei, and, with reservations, the Bistones¹¹ – one imagines that, profiting from their alliance with the Cimmerians, they occupied Mygdonia and advanced their realm as far as the Axios, where were already established the Sinti and the Paeonian tribe of the Siriopaeones. To support the hypothesis that the Cimmerians crossed all that wide area as far as the Axios basin and penetrated even into Epirus, an apparently decisive argument has been put forward, namely the presence of objects, especially horse-trappings, of a 'Cimmerian' type, even at Dodona.

However, recently the existence of objects of this type in all the areas where they are found has been accounted for in another way. It has been maintained that they are due to the influence of Near Eastern art which made its way to the north by two independent routes: in Scythia through the Caucasus region, and in Thrace by crossing the Dardanelles.¹² Given then that the literary sources are scanty in the extreme and unreliable, and that the archaeological evidence is open to differing interpretations, one cannot be at all sure whether the changes in these areas were due to a Cimmerian invasion. For a second possibility exists: that the changes

⁷ D 261, 75–8; D 240, 427–9; and D 233, v. See above, pp. 555f.

⁸ D 237 II, 18.

⁹ D 262. ¹⁰ The forms in D 228, 197f.

¹¹ If one can give credit to the evidence that the mythical ancestors Edonos, Mygdon, Biston, and Odomas were brothers, St. Byz. 171. 8, Parthen. *narr.* 6; see D 240, 428.

¹² D 260, 125.

were instigated by the migration of the Phrygians in Asia Minor around 800 B.C.¹³ It is probably with this migration that one should relate the movement in Asia Minor of certain Thracian tribes or groups of tribes, such as the Edones (St. Byz. 97.16) and the Mygdones,¹⁴ as previously the Bithyni who left the area of the lower Strymon at the time of the migration of the Mysi.¹⁵

IV. THE THRACIAN TRIBES

A formal enumeration of all the Thracian tribes which were known to the sources, without consideration of chronology, would provide a more or less unbalanced picture of the elements of the Thracian people and their role in the history of the country. Each historical period has concerned itself with those tribes which were involved in the events of that period, and thus one can arrive at a chronological stratification. In spite of the correctness of this principle, a description, however short, of the main tribes can provide, on the one hand, an idea of the great tribal variety which is seen in the historical aspect of these people, and, on the other, the great transformations which have taken place through the ages. At the same time, one must remember that the irregular and inadequate nature of the evidence prevents us from reaching exact conclusions in most cases. If one glances even casually at Map 14, one will come to the conclusion that the areas north of the Haemus were occupied by very widespread but not at all numerous tribes, and the further south one goes, the more numerous and the smaller the tribes become. This unbalanced picture is due to the fact that our information for the southern areas is fuller and more detailed, because these tribes had closer links with the Greek world.

We have no way of knowing what the 'Thracians' called themselves, if indeed they had a common name. The name occurred in Homer and Hesiod in the eighth and seventh centuries, before there was any idea of a national Thracian identity. Thus the name Thracians and that of their country, Thracia, were given by the Greeks to a group of tribes occupying the territory described above (Section II). The origins of the name are not clear;¹⁶ but it is probable that at first the names applied only to a very restricted area and group of people, and that later they covered a whole region occupied by tribes of the same ethnic origin.

Leaving to one side the Dacians and their ethnic relationship with the 'Thracians', the first Thracians who lived south east of them were the

¹³ Cf. D 240, 410f; D 238, 12f, 16f.

¹⁴ The sources: D 228, 306f.

¹⁵ The sources: D 228, 306f.

¹⁶ D 245.

Getae, who formed a large group consisting of several tribes.¹⁷ The Getae occupied a vast territory on both banks of the Danube; on the left bank approximately to the east of the Alutas, and on the right bank in the Dobrudža area, into which other tribes, both Thracian and non-Thracian, penetrated in their turn: Crobyzi, Scythae, and Sarmatae, after which the Dobrudža was called Scythia Minor. But it seems that at a period before the fifth century the Getae bordered upon the Moesi, if we are to give credit to Dio Cassius (LI.27: 'in former times, the Moesi and the Getae occupied all the region between the Haemus and the Istros'). It is very likely that the situation was the same on the left bank. The sources do not tell us which tribes comprised the Getic group. However, a text of Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 73), associates the Crobyzi as well as the Terizi (from the Tirizian promontory) with the Getae, who 'immortalize' (Hdt. IV.94), that is, 'render immortal' by ritual. The Crobyzi were a subgroup of the Getae tribes. Already known to Hecataeus (*FGrH* I F 170), they are grouped by Herodotus (IV.49) with the Thracians. He knew of them to the east of the Asamus, in the basin of the rivers Athrys, Noës, and Artanes. Later, one sees them much more to the east, in the hinterland of Odessus and Callatis (Ptol. III.10.4. cf. Strab. VII.5.12, Scymn. 145, 750, 756); it is probable that the Crobyzi were displaced by pressures from the Triballi, and their drift continued during the period of domination by the latter. Getic tribes were probably the Aedi, the Scaugdae and the Clariae (Pliny *N.H.* IV.41).¹⁸ The cultural level of some Getic tribes was so low that they lived in 'houses' dug into the earth (such underground villages are known among Phrygians and Armenians). The Greeks called them Troglodytae (Strab. VII.5.12).

As stated above, to the west of the Getic tribes lived the Moesi (Dio Cass. LI.27), whose territory also stretched along the left bank of the Danube (Strab. VII.3.2). According to tradition, a large number of them had emigrated to Asia Minor (Strab. VII.3.2) before the Trojan War (Strab. XII.8.4.). Herodotus' statement (VII.20: cf. VII.75 and V.12) that the Mysi and the Teucri passed, before the Trojan War, from Asia into Europe by the Bosphorus, subjugated the Thracians and reached the

¹⁷ Principal sources: D 228, 103f. They were known in antiquity as Getae, and almost never as Thracians, which caused them to be called by some scholars 'Thracio-Getae'. This term is incorrect. Our primary source, Hdt. IV.93, tells us that 'the Getae are the bravest and the most just amongst the Thracians'. The evidence is categorical and leaves no doubt as to their Thracian origins. It is supported by Strabo VII.3.2 ('The Greeks considered the Getae as Thracians'). In another passage in Strabo VII.3.12, the Getae are connected with the Dacians, which allows some scholars to talk of 'Daco-Getae'. But the logic of the evidence is more to the effect that the Dacians belonged also to the Thracian group without having been called Thracians, owing to their position remote from the rest of the group, and their separate historical development. But given that the Getae were Thracian, and thus spoke a Thracian dialect, the evidence of Strabo VII.3.13, that 'the Dacians speak the same language as the Getae', links the Dacians with the group who spoke the Thracian language.

¹⁸ The three last-named tribes Detschew (D 228 s.vv.) identifies as 'Sonderstämme des getischen Inlandes'.

river Peneus in Thessaly and the Ionian (Adriatic) Sea, is enigmatic because it is not verifiable. Still, an invasion or migration from the east to the west is not in principle impossible. The first reference to the Moesi as Mysi, which is the traditional form for them in Asia Minor, is in Homer (*Il.* XIII. 1–7), and it remains almost the only one up to the first century B.C. with the exception of a brief fragment of Hellanicus (*FGH* 2 F 74 = St. Byz. 427) which is a problem; the evidence reappears with the entry of the Romans into the Balkans.¹⁹ Even after the migration of the Asiatic Mysi, the Moesi remained sufficiently numerous, consisting of several tribes, for the Romans to call the province Moesia. Pliny speaks of the 'Moesic tribes' (*N.H.* IV.3 'Moesiacae gentes'), but their names remain almost unknown; in the Roman period, the tribes of the Artakioi (*Dio Cass.* LI.27.1) or Artakai (St. Byz. 127.23)²⁰ were known.

South of the Moesi were the Triballi. Most of the ancient authors designate them as Thracians (*Strab.* VII.3.8; VII.5.6; VII.5.11),²¹ and those names which have been preserved, both human and geographical, suggest that their origin is Thracian rather than Illyrian.²² It is true that writers refer to them quite often as a separate entity from the Thracians,²³ but this is owing to their reputation as an important tribe, paralleled for example by the Getae being referred to as a separate unit. They could not possibly have been Illyrians. The fact that St. Byz. (634.8) designates them as of Illyrian ethnic origin is due to his mistaken interpretation of a passage of Aristophanes (*Av.* 1520–2), which was his source. The mythical genealogy in Appian (*Ill.* 2) which links in kinship the Triballi, the Illyrians, and the Paeones is a later speculation and has no more validity than the Thracian genealogy in Antoninus Liberalis (21). Appian, it is true (*Ill.* 3), formally describes them as Illyrians, but in the same passage he describes the Scordisci also as Illyrians. This opinion can be accounted for by the fact that at first they lived in the borderland between Thrace and Illyria.²⁴ According to the evidence of Herodotus (IV.49), and of Thucydides (II.96; IV.101.5), we can place, in the fifth century, the large group of Triballi in the vast region of middle Morava, including the plain of Niš (Naissus) and the Nišava valley; to the east, their neighbours were the Treres and the Tilataei. It is likely that they had occupied these territories from the earliest times. In the fourth century, in the time of Philip and Alexander, they are found in the region

¹⁹ Papazoglu (D 250, 434–6) suggests that this long silence could be explained by the fact that the Moesi should be understood to be included under the name of the Getae; this is naturally in the nature of a hypothesis only.

²⁰ Cf. D 250, 433 n. 141.

²¹ See D 237 II, 20 with n. 1.

²² D 237 II, 20 n. 2.

²³ D 237 II, 20 n. 1, and the texts in D 250, 573–86.

²⁴ Amongst those recently concerned with the Triballi, B. Gerov (D 237 II, 20 (bibl.)) has asserted, in my opinion correctly, their Thracian origin, while F. Papazoglu (D 250, 67–81) considers them to be a separate ethnic group with an inter-mixture of Thracian and Illyrian elements.

between Ciabrus and Utus, which had previously belonged to the eastern Moesian tribes; naturally, some Triballi remained in their original territory, but they are no longer mentioned.²⁵

Before they moved eastwards in the fourth century, the Triballi were the western neighbours of the Treres and the Tilataei who occupied in general the region of Serdica: to the north of the mountain of Scombrus (Vitoša) and to the east as far as the river Oescus (Iskâr), according to Thucydides' description (II.96). We have referred to the Treres above (Section III); the Tilataei are known only through the evidence of Thucydides. These two tribes were probably assimilated by the Triballi during their advance eastwards, and have disappeared from the sources.²⁶

In place of the vanished Treres and Tilataei, we later find the Serdi for whom there is no evidence before the end of the first century B.C. It has for long been supposed on convincing linguistic and archaeological grounds that this tribe was of Celtic origin; it established itself during the period of the Celtic invasions at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the third century, and was gradually 'Thracianized' over the centuries while still preserving some of its national traditions up to a relatively late date.²⁷

There is no doubt that the Agrianes and the Laeaei who occupied the land on the uppermost reaches of the river Strymon were Paeones; the evidence of Thucydides and of other later authors is conclusive (Thuc. II.96, Appian, *Ill.* 41, cf. St. Byz. 21.13, Hesych. 67). The only writer who describes the Agrianes (under the form Agrii) as Thracians, is Theopompus (F 257(a)), but his evidence, isolated as it is, carries less weight.²⁸

To the south of these two tribes lived the Denteletae,²⁹ in the neighbourhood of the towns of Stanke Dimitrov and of Kjustendil (Pautalia), as well as in the mountains to the west towards the valleys of the Morava and the Vardar. Probably the Agrianes and the Laeaei were

²⁵ See B. Gerov (D 237 II, 20-4 and 55-62 (bibl.)), according to whom the migrating Celts had set the Illyrian tribes in motion, and the Autariatae (together with other tribes) had chased out the Triballi and occupied their land. Against the opinion of A. Mócsy (D 247, 89 n. 5, 103ff) that the central area of the Triballi was always sited (even in the fifth century) to the east, that is towards the Oescus, see the objection of B. Gerov (D 237 IV, 35f). F. Papazoglu (D 250, 46-52) does not share Gerov's view, and supports, without success, the early view that the Triballi had always lived between Morava and Iskâr (Oescus). Latterly A. Fol (D 232, 9-25) sees in the movements of the Triballi eastwards the expansion of a state similar to that of the Odrysae in the fifth century and rivalling them.

²⁶ D 237 II, 17; D 232, 23. There exists however some evidence in Pliny, *N.H.* IV.35, which speaks of the Treres to the west in Illyria: *max in ora Ichnae, fluvius Axius. Ad hunc finem Dardani, Treres, Pieres Macedoniam accolunt*. For possible explanation of this information see Gerov (D 237 II, 19), who is inclined to accept that it reports a former situation; it stems probably from Varro, whose sources were no earlier than the time of Philip and Alexander. On Pliny's sources, see also D 237 II, 60 and 67.

²⁷ D 237 II, (30-), 41-5, IV, 37-8, addenda.

²⁸ D 237 I, 231 n. 7.

²⁹ The forms of the name: D 228, 115f.

overwhelmed by them. The first reference to them is found in Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 221 = St. Byz. 217.21), in connexion with certain events around the year 340; they continued to occupy this area throughout the Roman era.³⁰

Their southern neighbours were the Maedi.³¹ Their territory extended along the valley of the central Strymon between the Kresna Pass and the Rupel Pass, but probably included also the plain of Blagoevgrad (Scaptopara). The Pirin mountain separated them to the east from the Digerri and from some Bessi tribes. To the west, the area of the upper and middle Astibus (Bregalnica) formed part of their territory. Beyond the Rupel Pass, they bordered upon the Sinti who also occupied the upper reaches of the Pontus (Strumica), whose lower course flowed through the Maedica. From the time of their first mention for the year 429 (Thuc. II.98), they continued to live in this area up to the late Roman period.³² Earlier, certain tribes of the Maedi emigrated to Asia Minor, where they were known under the name of the Maedobithyni.³³ One can only surmise the reasons for their migration: was it perhaps connected with the Phrygian migration and the Illyrian expansion, and had it some connexion with the migration of the Bithyni? As for the Sinti, they never occupied the Strymon valley north of the Rupel Pass where certain scholars place them.³⁴ Whether there was any relationship between the Sinti and the Homeric Sinties at Lemnos (*Il.* 1.593-4), it is not possible to say with any confidence. Strabo (VII fr. 46) identifies the Sinti with the Sinties, but in another passage (XII.3.20) he writes that the Sinties later called themselves Sinti, then Sai and Sapaiei: it is evident that the tradition is utterly confused, for the Sai and Sapaiei are associated with one another because they occupied the same territory, but they have nothing in common with the Sinti and the Sinties.

To the west of the Strymon as far as the basin of the lower Axios, extensive territories belonged to the Thracians, who in the course of the seventh and sixth centuries contracted eastwards under pressure from the Macedonians. We learn of this process from Thucydides (II.99), who describes the situation in Lower Macedonia in 429 under Perdiccas. From this text we see that before the Macedonian conquest, from west to east, the Thracian tribes lived as follows: the Pieres to the south of the Haliacmon; the Bottiaei between the Haliacmon and the Axios, in the Lydias basin; to the east of the Axios, the Edones, who had been driven out of Mygdonia, where only Mygdones remained; to the north of the Mygdones, the Crestonaei, who occupied the upper reaches of the

³⁰ D 237 I, 226-30.

³¹ Undue importance is attached to Maedus figuring in the genealogy of Illyrius by Hammond (D 400, 422, 427), who believes the Maedi were Illyrians.

³² D 237 I, 159-65, bibl.

³³ D 237 I, 159.

³⁴ D 250 A, 366-8; D 240, 197.

Echedorus, whose lower course ran through Mygdonia; and to the east of these last two tribes, the Bisaltae. After the Macedonian conquest, the situation was as follows: the Mygdones in Mygdonia; the Crestonaei in Crestonia, and to the east, up to the Strymon, the Bisaltae; in Chalcidice, the Crousi in the Crousis, the Bottiaei in Bottice, and the Sithones in the two little peninsulas of Sithone and Pallene.³⁵

The Mygdones were an Edonian tribe, Strabo (vii fr. 11): 'Of the Edones some call themselves Mygdones, some Edones ("Ἡδῶνες, app. cr. "Ὠδῶνες?), some Sithones.' We cannot say if the form Odones ("Ὠδῶνες), is preferable here, but such a form did exist, and it is difficult to dissociate it from the Edones ("Ἡδῶνες). St. Byz. (706. 8) has listed a Thracian tribe "Ὠδῶνες adjoining the Maedi, and Athenaeus (xv. 683 a-b) cites the toponym 'Ὠδονίη, quoting Nicander. On the other hand, Hesychius tells us that the ancient name of Thasos, before its Greek colonization, was Odonis ('Ὀδωνίς), which ought to indicate that an Edonian tribe had occupied this island too. These Odones ("Ὠδῶνες), who were neighbours of the Maedi, could not have been very far removed from the Odomanti or Odomantes, whose name undoubtedly relates to the Odo-group ('Ὠδο- or 'Ὀδω-). The Odomanti occupied part of the region between the Strymon and Nestus to the north of the Angites, and are mentioned in connexion with the campaigns of Megabazus in 512 B.C. and of Sitalces in 429 B.C. (Hdt. v. 16; vii. 112; Thuc. ii. 101.3; v. 6.1; cf. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 157). In the time of Strabo, they were still in that area. South of the Angites and the Odomanti were the Edones and the Pieres, who had found their new home here. To the north of the Odomanti, also east of the Strymon, lived the Panaei (Thuc. ii. 101.3), who also belonged to the Edonian group (St. Byz. 499.3); it was an unimportant tribe, and after Thucydides it is not mentioned again in the sources.

To the east of the Edonian group, towards the right bank of the Nestus, are found the Drōi, who are mentioned only once by Thucydides (ii. 101.3; for the year 429 B.C.), their neighbours the Dersaei, known to Herodotus (vii. 110; for the year 480 B.C.) and Thucydides (ii. 101.3),³⁶ and the Saei. It is reasonable to site the last mentioned opposite Thasos. The fragment 6 (Diehl) of Archilochus, where the poet describes how he had his shield stolen by a Saeian, does not justify us in concluding that the Saei lived in the island of Thasos, for before the arrival of the Greeks on the island it was known as Odonis (see above). It is less likely that the Saei came to attack the colonists than that the latter gave battle to these

³⁵ D 240, 123-62, 176-91, 430-9; the sources: D 228, s.vv.

³⁶ It is not known for certain whether they are the same as the Darsii (St. Byz. 220.6, after Hecataeus), as Detschew (D 228, 120) believes. On the possibility of a connexion of the name of the Dersaei (Δερσαίοι) with that of the 'strategia' Dresapaïke (Δρησαπαϊκή), see D 242, 40-1.

Thracians on the mainland in order to conquer the coastal strip.³⁷ But it is possible to accept the evidence that in archaic times the Saei also lived on the island of Samothrace (Strab. x.2.17, etc.).³⁸ According to Strabo they occupied the mainland opposite also and were the same as the Homeric Sinties or the historical Sapaei, or 'others', but these statements are not plausible and maybe arise from later learned speculations (see also above). According to Hesychius, the Saei were in former times the Cicones, but in fact the Saei and the Cicones were contemporaneous³⁹ and are here confused on account of the proximity of their territories.

To the east of the Nestus lies the country of the Bistones with the lake Bistonis. After Herodotus (VII.110), who mentions them in connexion with Xerxes' march, they figure mainly in the legendary tradition.⁴⁰ North east of them lived the Trausi, whom Livy (XXXVIII.41.5) places in 188 B.C. to the east of the Hebrus, in the hinterland of Maronea and Aenus,⁴¹ and with their name one must associate the name of the river Trauus which flows into Lake Bistonis (Hdt. VII.109; today Karadžasu). Their disappearance from the sources can be accounted for by their subjugation by the Sapaei. These latter were known from the time of Herodotus until the Roman epoch with the Sapaeian dynasty (Hdt. VII.109; Appian, *B.C.* IV.368; etc.).⁴² East of the Bistones lie the Cicones, in whose land Maronea is situated. According to Pliny (*N.H.* IV.43; cf. Mela II.28, Solin. x.7), they occupied all the maritime zone as far as the Hebrus. They were known from the time of Homer, and Herodotus mentions them in connexion with Xerxes' expedition; but later they mostly figure in the mythological tradition.⁴³ It ought to be accepted that they were subdued by the Sapaei, and perhaps, to the east, in the hinterland of the Aenus, by the Corpili. The description in Livy (XXXVIII.40-1) of the march of Cn. Manlius Vulso through Aegean Thrace in 188 B.C.⁴⁴ and of the march of Brutus and Cassius in Appian (*B.C.* IV.368-73 and 426-38) by the same route, allows us to site this tribe in the hinterland of Aenus. Apart from Livy (*loc. cit.*),⁴⁵ the Corpili are

³⁷ D 251, 16, 32-4.

³⁸ See D 228, 410f.

³⁹ The sources: D 228, s.vv.

⁴⁰ Evidence in D 228, 72.

⁴¹ The passage in Herodotus v.3-4, where their name is first mentioned, does not indicate the location of their territory.

⁴² Some sources: D 228, 421.

⁴³ Sources: D 228, 245. The Homeric text (*Il.* II.846) gives no justification for seeing the Cicones as non-Thracian, 'perhaps related to the Thracians', as is the opinion of V. Velkov (D 257, 289f). See the objections of G. Mihailov and V. Georgiev, *ibid.*, 324 and 329.

⁴⁴ The Corelli in the passage quoted from Livy are without doubt a corruption of Corpili (D 228, 254 s. *Κορπίλοι*). Relying on the passage in Livy, I. Venedikov (D 258A, 51-88) places, correctly, the 'Passes of the Corpili' not to the west of the Hebrus as has been done up to now, but to the east of the river. That this tribe extended to the east of the Hebrus he concluded also from the evidence of Demosthenes (XII.3): *Διοπέθης ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν χώραν Κρωβύλην μὲν καὶ τὴν Τίριστασιν* (on the coast of the Propontis) *ἐξηνδραποδίστατο* where *Κρωβύλη* could only be the land of the *Κορπίλοι*, and the text of Strabo (VII fr. 58) quoted below: 'Apsynthis, actually the Corpilike', *ἡ μὲν γὰρ Αἶνος κείται κατὰ τὴν πρότερον Ἀψυνθίδα, νῦν δὲ Κορπικὴν λεγομένην*.

⁴⁵ See above, n. 44.

mentioned rather late, about the first century B.C., but at that time this tribe was the most important in the region in having given its name to the *Strategia Corpilike* which comprised ancient Apsynthis and Aenus (Strab. vii fr. 58).⁴⁶ To the north of the Corpili, Strabo (vii fr. 48), the only source, places the Brenae, who played no part in the history of the country.

To the east of the Cicones were the Paeti, one of the tribes enumerated by Herodotus (vii.110) who were connected with the march of Xerxes. According to Arrian (*Anab.* i.11.4), in 334 B.C. the Paetice was situated on the left bank of the Hebrus. This is the last reference to this tribe. Their neighbours were the Apsinthii or Apsynthii, mentioned first by Herodotus (vi.34) for about the year 555 B.C. as neighbours of the Dolonci.⁴⁷ The river Melas is also known as the Apsinthus (Dion. Perieg. 575). The frontier between them, the Paeti and the Cicones, and in general the frontiers between the tribes of this region would doubtless be variable, for with Strabo (vii fr. 58) Aenus was not in the territory of the Cicones where Pliny placed it (*N.H.* iv.43), but in the former Apsynthis, 'actually the Corpilike'. The Thracian Chersonese belonged to the Dolonci, whom mythology made kin to the Bithyni (St. Byz. 169.19), but the origin of that genealogy is unknown. Their history dies out with the activities of the Philaids during the second half of the sixth century (Section V, below), and their name is not mentioned until several centuries later in the geographical descriptions of Thrace by Pliny (*N.H.* iv.41) and by Solinus (lxviii.3). The length of the Propontis was inhabited by the Caeni, the Caenici of Pliny,⁴⁸ known from the first century B.C. They were probably a considerable tribe, for it was after them that the *strategia* was named Kainike.

The Astae appeared only from the late Hellenistic era, second-first century B.C. (the first evidence in a decree of Mesambria Pontica, second century B.C., honouring an 'Αστάς: *IG Bulg.* 1² 312).⁴⁹ They inhabited a very extended area to the north of Byzantium (Strab. vii.6.12); Strabo (vii.6.1) knew of them too in the Pontic Salmydessus, and in the Tab. Peut. Strandža Planina is marked as 'mons Asticus'. In the Roman 'Strategia Astice' which lay between Perinthus and Apollonia, the Astae formed the principal tribe. But at an earlier period other tribes existed in this territory, some only mentioned incidentally. Amongst them, the Thyni should first be noted.

The Thyni occupied the land north of Perinthus and Selymbria. They also occupied part of the Strandža Planina and touched the Black Sea in the region known as Salmydessus (above), which stretched as far as Apollonia and which included Cape Thynias. These Thyni, very well

⁴⁶ Some of the sources: D 228, 254.

⁴⁷ The sources: D 228, 39.

⁴⁸ The sources: D 228, 221.

⁴⁹ The other sources: D 228, 32.

described by Xenophon (*Anab.* VII.2.32-4), were a large tribe, a part of which had moved to Asia Minor, probably at the time of the migration of the Mysi, along with the Bithyni, to whom they were related, as their ethnic names suggest.⁵⁰ The former were later subdued by Croesus (Hdt. I.28). According to tradition, the Bithyni were formerly called Strymonii (Hdt. VII.75), because their original homeland was near the Strymon. This evidence places them a long way from the territory of the Thyni whom we know from the outset as living only between the Propontis and the Black Sea. A section of the Thyni tribe who lived near Salmydessus, bore the name Melinophagi (Xen. *Anab.* VII.5.12, cf. St. Byz. 442). To the north of the Thyni, in the plain and on the slopes west of the Strandža Planina lived the Tranipsae (Xen. *Anab.* VII.2.32), whom Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 16 = St. Byz. 406.1) describes as a tribe of the Thyni (ἔθνος Θυνῶν) and whose name is associated with that of the Nipsaei (below). Generally, one would place in this area also the Melanditae, but if there is an etymological connexion between their name and that of the river Melas,⁵¹ and if one considers the order in which Xenophon (*Anab.* VII.2.32) enumerates the tribes in rebellion against Seuthes II (Malanditae, Thyni, and Tranipsae), one would expect to find their territory not to the north but to the south, near the river Melas and neighbouring the Apsynthii (note that according to Dion. Perieg. 575 Melas was also known as Apsinthus).

At the time of Darius' campaign against the Scythians, there lived in the region of Salmydessus and in the hinterland of Apollonia and Mesambria the Scyrmiadae (Hdt. IV.93); in the forms *Σκυρμιάδαι* and *Κυρμιάναι* (codd. ABCP) and *Σκυρμιιάδαι* (St. Byz. 579.12);⁵² and the Nipsaei (Hdt. IV.93), of whom we hear nothing later. Probably the Nipsaei were connected with the tribal group of the Thyni (above), which may be true also of the Scyrmiadae, which would help to reconcile the evidence that both these two tribes and the Thyni were situated in the region of Salmydessus.

The fact that the river Artescus (the Arda)⁵³ 'runs through the country of the Odrysaе' (Hdt. IV.92) fixes their territory firmly. Archaeological monuments, and in particular the monumental tomb at Mezek (although dated in the fourth century), confirm that the Odrysaе, who were in effect a tribal group, inhabited the area of the lower and doubtless the middle Arda, and occupied the region of the Hebrus towards the town of Harmanli.⁵⁴ To look for the Odrysaе in the area of the Strandža Planina⁵⁵ is without justification. The homeland of the Odrysaе should not be

⁵⁰ Sources: D 228, 53f, 211f.

⁵¹ This is the opinion of I. Venedikov (D 258A, 48).

⁵² See D 244, 5.

⁵³ D 256.

⁵⁴ D 242, 42; D 258, 29-32; cf. D 256.

⁵⁵ As does, for example, Danov, D 227, 121f, 265 n. 118.

confused with their realm which extended, in the fifth century, over a vast area (Thuc. II.96-7).

Westward of the Odrysae, on the upper reaches of the Arda, in the neighbourhood of the present-day towns of Zlatograd and Kârdžali and on the northern slopes of the Rhodope mountain facing the town of Haskovo dwelt the Coelaetae minores. The other branch of this tribe, the Coelaetae maiores, lived in the region of the High Tonzos between Stara Planina and Sredna Gora. Pliny's evidence on which these conclusions are based (*N.H.* IV.41) is not very clear.⁵⁶ The sources for the Coelaetae are late (Pliny, Tacitus);⁵⁷ and give us no clue to their original territory nor the date of the split into the two branches, between which other tribes established themselves.

In the middle Hebrus valley, to the north east of the Odrysae and the Coelaetae minores, are the Ben(n)i, as we can conclude from the position of the Roman *strategia Bennike*.⁵⁸ Their name appears only in Pliny, Ptolemy, and St. Byz.,⁵⁹ and then very late, but the fact that this tribe gave its name to the *strategia* indicates that it had been important and had been eclipsed by the powerful Odrysae.

West of the Odrysae lived the tribes known under the names of Satrae, Dii, and Diobessi. Their relationship presents a difficult problem. Having been mentioned by Hecataeus (*FGrH* I F 157 = St. Byz. 557.24) and Herodotus (VII.110-12), the Satrae disappear from the sources, if one discounts the proper name Satres (*Σάτρης*) registered six centuries later in a catalogue of Thracian families in the Roman period (*IG Bulg.* III 1, 1516.29, Cillae). Herodotus' account leads to the conclusion that they were a large tribe which one must place in the western Rhodope area. The text, somewhat obscure, associates the Satrae and the Bessi: οὗτοι (= Σάτραι) οἱ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήϊόν εἰσι ἐκτελέμενοι [. . .] Βησσοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱεροῦ which should mean: 'Bessi who are part of the Satrae carry out the functions of prophets in the temple', or 'Bessi amongst the Satrae are those who carry out . . . [etc.]'. After Herodotus, the early authors speak of the Bessi as being a large group of tribes.⁶⁰ They occupied a large area west of the plain of Plovdiv, that is to say the valley of the Hebrus up to the region of the Succ Pass, to

⁵⁶ *Coelaetae maiores Haemo, minores Rhodopae subducti*. The Coelaetae minores were neighbours of the Dii, 'who mostly lived in the Rhodope' (Thuc. II.96). This proximity enabled the Coelaetae to take part, together with the Odrysae and the Dii, in the rising of A.D. 21, the 'Coelaetican War' mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* III.38). So one cannot interpret Pliny's evidence to mean that the Coelaetae minores lived on the northern slopes of Rhodope near to Pazardžik facing the Coelaetae maiores on the opposite mountains, because the Bessi (with their Bessapara) lived in that area (see D 242, 42).

⁵⁷ D 228, 248f.

⁵⁸ D 242, 44. In spite of the evidence of St. Byz. 162.17, s. *Βέννα*, that there is a *Βεννικός κόλπος*, identified by Detschew (D 228, 51) with the Gulf of Melas, there is no way by which one can descend to the sea coast from the territories of the Cicones, Paeti, and Apsynthii.

⁵⁹ D 228, 51. ⁶⁰ The sources: D 228, 57-9.

the north a corresponding area of the Haemus (Strab. VII.5.12), to the south a section of the Rhodope mountains from the side opposite the Haemus as far as the river Nestus (Plin. *N.H.* IV.40). The existence of a tribe called Diobessi (Plin. *loc. cit.*) links together ethnically the Bessi and the Dii, who in the main, according to Thucydides (II.96.2), lived in the Rhodope mountains.⁶¹

V. POLITICAL HISTORY

The political history of this period is almost unknown. What one can be certain of are the migratory movements of the tribes, which are naturally accompanied by inter-tribal conflicts. Of these interminable struggles, which never ceased to plague Thrace, the best known are those between the Apsynthii and the Dolonci in the sixth century (Hdt. VI.34-40), which can serve us as an example. They resulted in the establishment of the Philaids in the Thracian Chersonese *c.* 555 and up to 493 B.C. with the arrival of the first Miltiades, rival of Pisistratus in Athens but his partner in the Chersonese.⁶² On the one hand Sigeum, whose possession had been an object of litigation between Lesbos and Athens, and on the other the Chersonese would assure to Athens the control of the Hellespont; from this time on, the Chersonese was always to be of vital importance to Athens. The activity of Pisistratus at Rhacelus on the Thermaic Gulf, and in the mining area of Mt Pangaeum, whence especially came the wealth which enabled him to become tyrant, and the activity of the Philaids in the Chersonese mark the beginning of Athenian expansion in Thrace. This policy became part of the general framework of Greek colonization in this region, where Athens had been anticipated by other Greek cities, particularly by Chalcis, Megara, and Miletus. Their colonies, established partly in the eighth century but mainly in the course of the seventh and sixth, and extending along the coast from the peninsula of Chalcidice to as far as the mouth of the Danube, facilitated the contacts of Thrace with Asia Minor and the Greek world. Thrace was rich in natural resources and received Greek manufactured goods in exchange. But the rare finds of imported objects, whose small number is not due only to chance or limited excavations or other similar factors, do not indicate very intensive relations at the outset. Literary sources show that the settlement of the newcomers was not always welcome, and was usually accompanied by fighting, sometimes prolonged and ending in disaster for the colonists. The poems of Archilochus (Diehl 6, 19, 51) are eloquent, and the instance of Abdera which was founded only at the second attempt (the first being in 654 or 652 B.C. and the second *c.* 546

⁶¹ Complete bibliography on the Satrac, Bessi, Diobessi, D 253, largely hypothetical; see D 245A.

⁶² D 239; D 243, 30-1; D 231, 82-6 bibl. See CAH III².404f.

B.C.) is instructive. For in most cases the colonies were established in the Thracian area whose Thracian name they preserved (Tomi, Bizone, Mesambria, Salmydessus, Selymbria, Byzantium, Maronea, Abdera, etc.).

VI. THRACIAN SOCIETY AND CIVILIZATION

The poverty of evidence at our disposal, either from written or archaeological sources, prevents us from having anything more than a nebulous idea of Thracian society in the eighth to the sixth centuries B.C.

The Thracians did not emerge from a patriarchal system, since they continued to preserve their tribal organization, but they evolved towards the formation of a state of the pre-classical type. This process was evidently long and slow and took place in stages, one of which can be found in the setting-up of tribal unions. It seems that this progressed more intensively in the southern areas, where the proximity of the Greek world in the form of the Greek colonies and of Asia Minor was a favouring factor.⁶³ The appearance of coinage amongst the Thracians of the southern zone towards the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth centuries indicates some political activity, which originated evidently in the preceding period.

The first state we hear of is that of the Odrysae. Their first powerful king, according to Thucydides (II.92), was Teres, but it was not necessarily he who founded the Odrysian state. He died towards the middle of the fifth century at the age of 92 years (Lucian, *Macr.* 10), and would have been already king at the time of Darius' expedition (dated variously between 519 and 512 B.C.). Thus the Odrysian kingdom must have been in existence at least in the sixth century, and its origins can no doubt be sought at an even earlier date. Herodotus' account (IV.89-93) of Darius' invasion of Thrace makes it clear that the Great King conquered the Thyni, the Odrysae, and the Getae; for the last he states the fact in so many words (*αἰρέει Γέτας* IV.93). Later, Teres had the greatest difficulty in subduing these Thyni, who succeeded in liberating themselves towards the end of the fifth century. Thus one must assume that there existed alongside the Odrysae a political organization of the Thyni,⁶⁴ which was more developed than a single tribal unit and should be termed a 'state'. This is equally valid in the case of the Getae, amongst whom one can suppose the existence of several 'states'.

In the heart of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of Plovdiv, near the village of Duvanlij, there is a large complex of several dozen tumuli, the earliest dating from the end of the sixth century and from the beginning of the fifth century, the 'cemetery's life' continuing up to the fourth

⁶³ D 231, 69-114. See *CAH* III² 3.113-22.

⁶⁴ D 258, 25-9.

century. Some of these tombs are most impressively equipped with large numbers of gold ornaments, wrought with artistic skill, and with an abundance of other funerary furniture consisting of handsome containers in silver or bronze and other objects either local or imported. The golden jewels in the earliest tomb in the Mušovica tumulus, from the end of the sixth century, weigh 436 grams (Pls. Vol., pl. 249), those from the tomb in the Kukova mogila tumulus, dating from the first decade of the fifth century, weigh 1,266 grams, and together with them were found two receptacles in silver (1,766 grams) and others in bronze, glass, and alabaster. Such richly furnished tombs continued during the following period,⁶⁵ indicating that at this place persons of high rank were buried and that the richest funerary material belonged to those of royal stock. This argues a long tradition which can be attributed to the kings of the Bessi, whose kingdom was overwhelmed by the Odrysae in the fifth century.

The Thracian states which we assume were an established fact in the sixth century were of an archaic type similar in spirit to the Lydian and Persian kingdoms. The king, his court, and the nobility held a privileged position. The principle of royalty explains several cultural phenomena. From mythological evidence it seems that at the beginning power in Thrace was in the hands of priest-kings. This is how one should interpret for example the legend of the family of Orpheus in Diodorus (xii.65. 4-5): when the Thracian king Lycurgus betrayed and attacked Dionysus, the latter destroyed him and transferred his power to Charops, teaching him secret rites and mysteries; in his turn, Charops transmitted them to his son Oeagrus, and he to *his* son Orpheus. Although this is a late version, it still conveys a certain historic reality. We know that at a later period the chiefs of the Cebrenii and Sycaeboae tribes were priests of Hera (Polyaen. vii.22). For the period of the eighth to the sixth centuries proof is provided in the existence of bronze cult-axes (Pls. Vol., pl. 246), which used to symbolize supreme power, and have parallels and prototypes in Iran.⁶⁶ However, in spite of this evidence, one cannot generalize so far as to assume that from Mycenaean times to the sixth century Thracian kings without exception were all 'priest-kings'. Given that the cult-axes do not extend beyond the sixth century, it is clear that the nature of royal power developed and that what one finds at a later date amongst the Cebrenii and the Sycaeboae was a survival. In the tenth book of the *Iliad*, which belongs to the sixth century (or more precisely to the era of Pisistratus), the king Rhesus is represented like other great Achaean chiefs, and this description, even though anachronistic and much idealized, shows, in contrast to the description of other Thracian and Paeonian leaders, that in Thrace there already existed chieftains who

⁶⁵ D 230.⁶⁶ D 260, 23-4.

were no longer the simple tribal leaders of a more archaic time.

At this period of social disruption, the privileged position of the kings and nobles enabled them to acquire riches in the form of objects in bronze, whose value was also great, and in silver and gold and no doubt in precious fabrics, as one may judge retrospectively from the practice of the fifth century (Thuc. II.97, Xen. *Anab.* VII.3.16-18). Harness pieces in bronze or bronze bracelets and other objects (e.g. Pls. Vol., pl. 248) and the gold cup of Sofia (Pls. Vol., pl. 251) of the eighth-seventh century and the tombs rich in gold jewellery of the end of the sixth century (e.g. Pls. Vol., pl. 249 *a-d*) bear witness to the ease and luxury of the ruling class.⁶⁷ We do not know precisely the status of the 'slaves' and the 'servants', *dmoēs* and *amphipoloi*, or of the 'housekeeper', *tamie*, of the priest Maron (*Od.* IX.206), unique evidence for our period. It is uncertain whether these terms corresponded exactly to reality in Thrace, and therefore the nature of slavery at this period cannot be determined.

With social and political life, particularly with the process of the formation of statehood, is linked the problem of military institutions. Our information is inadequate. Homer, our sole written source in this area for this period, does not, because of the specific nature of the material, furnish us with information which is chronologically precise. Nor does his information correspond faithfully to the reality which emerges from the meagre findings of archaeology. In the Homeric poems the weapons, both offensive and defensive, of the Thracian (and Paeonian) leaders do not differ from those of the Achaean chiefs; the descriptions give the impression that they are more concerned with poetic conventions than factual reality in Thrace.⁶⁸

There is no reason to suppose that the shield worn by the nobles was different from the light shield, the *pelta*, known in the sixth century, and that there was any question of a large shield of Achaean type. But there is no doubt that a helmet was sometimes used, not necessarily of an Achaean type ('a helmet with horse-hair crest', *Il.* VI.9), and that the javelin and javelot as well as the sword and dagger were commonly used. Homer speaks of the 'long javelin' (δολίχ' ἔγχυρα *Il.* IV.533), of the 'pike',

⁶⁷ It is not impossible that the celebrated Vălcitrân treasure belongs to precisely this period (for varying opinions, D 260, 27-9 and D 258B). The objects, at least the greater part of them, had a ritual function, but it is unknown whether they belonged to a sanctuary or to a king.

⁶⁸ *Il.* IV.527-32; VI.5-11; X.434-41; XI.246-7; cf. for the Paeonians *Il.* XXI.161-83; XXIII.560-2. The poet manipulates his military material to suit his own purposes. In his combat with Achilles, Asteropaeus the Paeonian wears a cuirass and carries two javelins, but appears not to have a sword (*Il.* XXI.161-83), while later (*Il.* XXIII.806-7) one reads that Achilles has removed from him his 'fine Thracian dagger with silver studs': it seems that the poet has conjured up the dagger to fit the occasion. One cannot draw the conclusion from the phrase 'he (the Achaean) cannot take away from him (the Thracian) his weapons' (IV.532) that the Thracian customarily carried all the weapons usual in Homer (τεύχεα), for this is a Homeric formula. The Thracian chief Peirōs, who was fully equipped (τεύχεα, IV.532) does not throw a javelin but a large stone (IV.518-22).

(*δóρυ Il. IV.525*, which corresponds to the earlier term *ἔγχος*), of the Ciconian 'spearmen' (rather than 'warriors', *αἰχμηταί Il. II.846*) who fought with javelins (*χαλκήρεσιν ἐγχέουσιν Od. IX.55*), of 'the mighty Thracian sword' (*ξίφος Θρηίκιον μέγα Il. XIII.576-7*), of the 'fine Thracian dagger with silver studs' (*φάσγανον, Il. XXIII.807-8*). The description of the Mysi 'fighting hand-to-hand' (*ἀγχέμαχοι Il. XIII.5*) implies that they fought with a stabbing spear or a sword. Archaeology has provided two funerary monuments and some weapons which are isolated finds. The stones, the first of which is a slab ($0.87 \times 0.28 / 44 \times 0.25$ m, Kalište, dep. of Pernik), and the second a column 'statue' ($2.10 \times 0.38 / 32 \times 0.18$ m, Belogradec, dep. of Varna), show Thracian princes or noblemen and in all probability belong to the seventh or sixth centuries. The figures wear helmets. On the slab are engraved the hands, the soles of the feet, and the weapons attached to a baldric: a sword in a leather scabbard (the fringe is shown), and an axe, and on the 'statue' are carved a shell collar and arms attached to a baldric: in the front a knife, on the right side a sword in a decorated scabbard, on the left a bow, and behind probably a leather bag.⁶⁹ The other archaeological finds have produced a bronze helmet of Corinthian type of the sixth century (Čelopečene, dep. of Sofia), undoubtedly an import (similar ones are found in north Greece, in Macedonia, and in Illyria),⁷⁰ an iron javelin-head (43 cm), bronze arrow-heads, and an iron dagger (40.5 cm), all from a tomb of the seventh century (Endže, now Carevbrod, dep. of Šumen),⁷¹ another iron dagger of the type known as 'Cimmerian', with scabbard (42 cm) of the seventh century (Belogradec, dep. of Varna),⁷² but not yet any breast-plates or shields.

There are some Attic black-figure vases of the middle sixth century which portray Thracian peltasts: light foot-soldiers protected by hats of animal-skin (fox), but without any cuirass, shod in boots high or low, wearing a chiton and a cloak (*zeira*), and armed with a light shield of crescent shape (*pelta*), and one or two spears which they would throw one at a time, and a sword.⁷³ (The two spears are characteristic of the Thracian people and of certain of their neighbours, such as the Paeonians in the *Iliad* and during the ensuing epoch also.) The vases date from the period of Pisistratus who had seized power with the help of Thracian mercenaries, consisting of peltasts, archers, and cavalry. This shows that the Thracian peltasts, who played a special role in the art of war both in the classical and Hellenistic periods, are not a creation of the sixth century, but date back to a very much earlier time. This is confirmed too by the fact that this type of warrior was characteristic of the Thracians not only of Europe, but also of Asia Minor (Hdt. VII.75).⁷⁴ The

⁶⁹ D 254.⁷⁰ D 225.⁷¹ D 252, 98-113; date D 226, 87-9.⁷² D 255.⁷³ D 224, 5-7; D 243, 153-4.⁷⁴ D 224, 11-13; D 243, 154-8.

peculiarities of different tribes should be borne in mind; for those who lived in the plains could be foot-soldiers without necessarily being peltasts. Thucydides, for example, referring to the army of Sitalces in 429 B.C. gives an idea of these peculiarities and local traditions (II.96, 98): the Getae are cavalrymen armed with the bow, the Dii 'who for the most part live in Rhodope' are armed with a dagger known as *makhaira*, and most of the horsemen come from the Odrysae and the Getae. There is no doubt that some tribes were equestrian by tradition. In connexion with this, we may ask if the Homeric term ἀφ' ἵππων,⁷⁵ when it was applied to the Cicones who 'knew how to fight from chariots and when to fight on foot' (*Od.* IX.49-50), does not mean rather that they fought as cavalry.⁷⁶ If not, we must assume that Homer was describing a battle in his traditional manner without any relation to the reality of Thracian methods.

Thracian civilization was not an urban one. The fact that Homer referred to Ismarus of the Cicones as a 'city' (*polis*, *Od.* IX.40) does not prove that there were veritable towns in Thrace at that time. Fragments of Hecataeus record the names of several 'cities' (*poleis*) in Thrace, but those of which we know something – such as Abdera, Maronea, Drys, or Zone – lead to the conclusion that these were Greek towns set up on earlier Thracian sites. There is only one of these Hecataean 'cities', Cabassus, which is situated north of Mt Haemus (*FGrH* I F 169) and remained a Thracian area. But was it in fact a city? According to Strabo (VII.6.1, cf. *St. Byz.* 446.15), the Thracian word *bria* meant *polis*, but it is an inaccurate translation, and Mesambria, Selymbria, or Poltymbria were not cities in the real sense of the word. As shown by the Thracian walls at Pontic Mesambria (*Pls. Vol.*, pl. 252 a, b), dating from before the foundation of the Greek colony at the end of the sixth century,⁷⁷ Thrace possessed only fortified areas, and 'cities' such as Cabassus would have been no more than large villages. In general the population lived in villages and hamlets. Herodotus (V.16) tells of pile dwellings in Lake Prasias, referring evidently to very early traditions. Apart from Greek coastal cities, and even several of these were no more than small settlements (cf. e.g. the synoikismos of Olynthus), towns in Thrace only appeared, sporadically, from the time of Philip II, the urbanization of the country not being accomplished until Roman times.⁷⁸ In a country of this sort, economic life was naturally at a very low level. The single fact that the archaeological finds are neither numerous nor rich up to the end of the sixth century proves this. It is not until after this century that the

⁷⁵ Translated as 'chariot with equipment' in L-S-J s.v., Chantraine, *Dict. ét. s.v.*

⁷⁶ Cf. D 224, 11.

⁷⁷ On other fortresses of the first half of the first millennium: D 259, 128-77.

⁷⁸ D 246.

archaeological material improves in quantity and quality. Thrace was and remained for many centuries longer a rural country. Its fertile soil, already praised by Homer (*Il.* xi. 222), provided wheat and other crops of which we have evidence in succeeding periods, but which doubtless also existed at this time; for example, barley, with which they made a sort of beer, *bryton* (Archilochus),⁷⁹ millet or hemp (for cloth). Viticulture flourished and Thracian wine was renowned (*Il.* ix. 71–2, *Od.* ix. 196, 204–11). In animal breeding, horses and sheep (*Il.* xi. 222) were raised, and Homer particularly characterized the Thracians with the epithet 'herders of horses' (*ἵπποπόλοι* *Il.* xiii. 4; xiv. 227; cf. *Od.* ix. 49). Nor must we forget the role of hunting and fishing in the life of a country abounding in game and fish.

As yet the Thracians did not know the use of coinage. Their coins do not appear until towards the end of the sixth century, mainly at the beginning of the fifth century. Precious metals found their way into the coffers of the princes and nobles in the form of ingots or as receptacles or ornaments (cf. *Od.* ix. 211–13, *Il.* xxiv. 234–5). Even the bronze 'coins' in the form of an arrow minted during the period from the end of the seventh century to the end of the sixth century at the latest, discovered in the Pontic zone in the territories of Apollonia, Istrus, Tyras and Olbia, represented a Greek innovation used solely for commercial purposes with the indigenous hinterland.⁸⁰ The circulation of real coinage in the country is rare, and finds like that near Serdica, including coins from the area of Mount Pangaeum, the oldest ones dating from 550 B.C. onwards, are exceptional.⁸¹ Everything goes to show that the flowering of Thrace began towards the end of the sixth century, and coincided with the political interest of Persia in Europe, whose first manifestation was Darius' expedition against the Scythians.

From the meagre information at our disposal, we can learn very little of the Thracian customs and rituals of this period. Given the conservatism of the area – some folk-lore traditions continuing to exist even to our own day – we should be able to reconstruct a wider picture by relying on the sources for the succeeding eras. However, such a study must be reserved for a later volume, and here we are limited to some remarks called forth by the original evidence for the period. There existed at all times individual tribal characteristics, a fact emphasized by Herodotus (v. 3–8). If we can believe Homer (*Od.* ix. 199), the priest Maron had only one wife. But that does not exclude the existence of concubines, for from the statements of authors of the fifth and succeeding centuries one must conclude that polygamy and concubinage rested on an ancient tradition, without however being able to assert that it was a general practice; this would depend upon social conditions as much as

⁷⁹ See all the texts in D 218, 93.

⁸⁰ D 229.

⁸¹ D 235.

upon tribal traditions. Upon these conditions and traditions depended also such customs as hair-styles and tattooing. Even though Homer (*Il.* iv. 553) and Archilochus (Diehl 79a) call the Thracians *akrokomoí*, 'with hair on crown', the expression allows of more than one interpretation,⁸² and doubtless that was not the only way of wearing the hair. Again, the Attic vases of the period which show that a beard was fashionable do not imply that it was universal.

We have no direct evidence about the practice of tattooing from the eighth to the sixth century – the first evidence is in Herodotus v.6 – though on account of its primitive nature there can be no doubt that its origins spring from an even earlier period; but we need not assume on that account that it was a universal or common practice.⁸³ For male dress – for women no evidence at all exists – we rely on the Attic black-figure vases which depict Thracian warriors of the sixth and fifth centuries (above, p. 611); the primitive 'statues' of Kalište and Belogradec (above, p. 611) give little clear indication on the subject. The mythical figures of Orpheus and Thamyris (as well as the invention of the *syrix* with a single reed or pipe attributed by Athenaeus (iv.184a) to the Maedi Seuthes and Rhonaces, and of the *magadis* to Thracian Magadis by Athenaeus (xiv.636f after Douris)) bear witness to the part played by music and the dance amongst the Thracians.

There is relatively more information concerning funeral rites. During this period both inhumation and incineration were practised. In different areas kings and nobles were interred in different fashions. In the region of Strandža Planina and Sakar Planina and very rarely in the eastern area adjoining the Haemus, the dolmen tradition persisted from the twelfth century up to the seventh (Pls. Vol., pl. 244) (Fig. 34). They were in fact tumulus-tombs. In eastern Rhodope they cut beehive-shaped tombs in the rock. These two types of tomb form the link between the beehive tombs of Mycenae and similar Thracian tombs of the fifth and fourth century. In eastern Rhodope an unusual burial arrangement has been found. A rock cut in pyramidal form contains two burials; steps give access to a burial niche; and then on a higher platform there is cut a tomb open to the sky (Pls. Vol., pl. 245).⁸⁴ But the most typical for Thrace are the tumuli. Herodotus (v.5) reports that among the Thracians 'who live above the Crestonaei' they sacrificed the favourite wife and buried her with the husband, but so far this practice has not been confirmed by archaeological evidence. On the other hand, chance finds of scraps of horse-trappings of the eighth to the sixth century (Pls. Vol., pl. 248) (Fig. 35) show that the burial of a horse beside the tomb – which excavations have frequently shown for the period from the fifth century – was in fact

⁸² D 241, 109; D 243, 97.

⁸³ D 241, 67–70; D 243, 105.

⁸⁴ D 259, 31–127, summary 215–18.

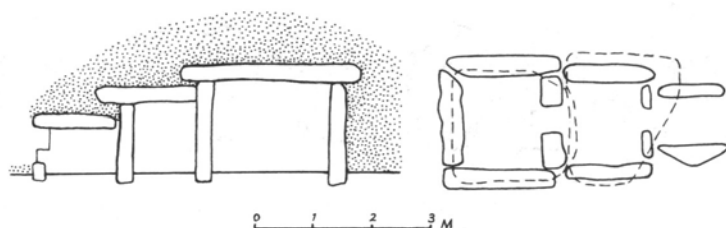


Fig. 34. Early Iron Age dolmens in the Strandža Mountains and in the village of Bălgarska Poljana (Topolovgrad District). (After D 260, figs. 1, 2.)

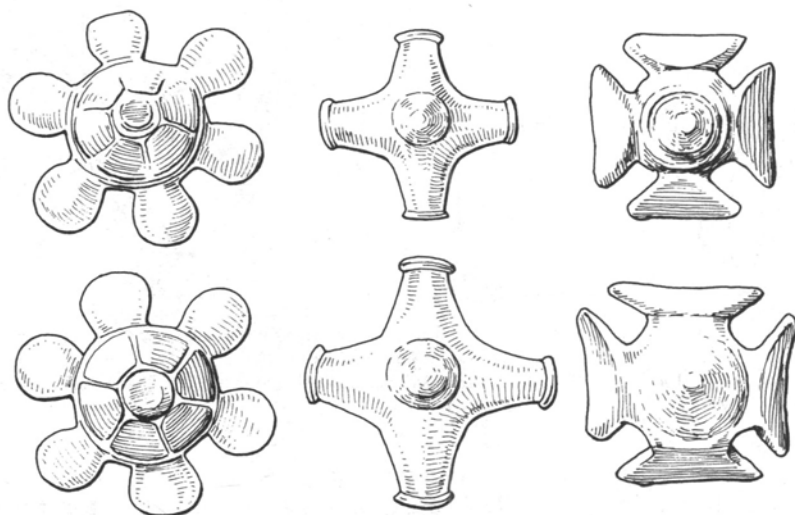


Fig. 35. Bronze horse-trappings (harness pieces and decorative plaques) from the village of Sofronievo (Vraca District), Gevgeli, and Bjala Slatina. Seventh century B.C. Width 5–9 cm. (Vraca Archaeological Museum; Sofia Archaeological Museum 795, 1593/4; after D 260, pls. 11–13.)

an earlier custom too.⁸⁵ Within the tombs was sometimes placed a funerary inventory, usually quite small, of precious objects alongside the noble person.⁸⁶ The two stone funerary monuments (above, p. 611) are exceptional.

Of religion little is known, but the Thracian pantheon evidently became a fairly complex one. There is general evidence in Xenophanes (F 14 Diehl = F 16 Diehl's *Vorsokratiker* 6) to show that the Thracians represented their gods as having russet-red hair and blue eyes like themselves. Homer speaks of the priest of Apollo, Maron, who dwelt in a sacred wood at Ismarus (*Od.* IX. 198–201). This is not poetic invention. In neighbouring Abdera, Pindar (*Paean* II. 5) mentions the sanctuary of

⁸⁵ D 260, 20–1.

⁸⁶ Seventh century: D 252; D 255; sixth century: D 230.

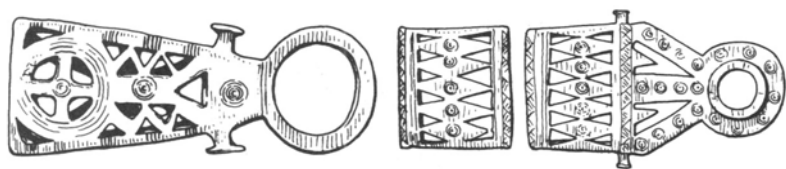


Fig. 36. Bronze belt buckles, seventh century B.C., from Sofronievo (Vraca District) and Vidin District. Lengths 10.5 and 9 + 5.1 cm. (Vraca Archaeological Museum; Sofia Archaeological Museum 124/5; after D 260, pls. 19, 20.)

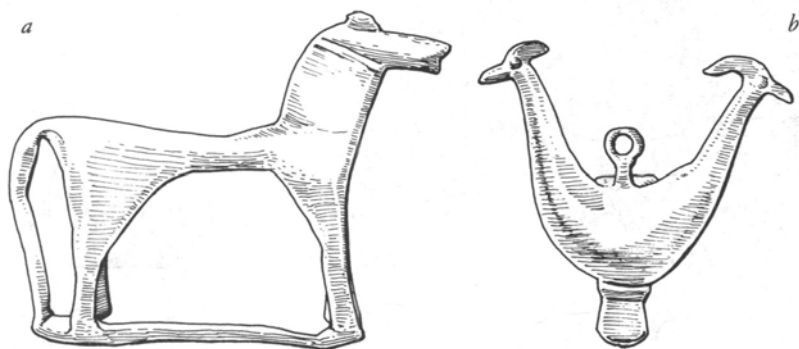


Fig. 37. (a) A bronze horse of the seventh century B.C. from near Philippi (Aegean Thrace). Height 6 cm. (Sofia Archaeological Museum 1578.) (b) A bronze 'axe-amulet' of the seventh–sixth centuries B.C. from Rila Monastery. The two-headed bird has an axe-blade instead of feet. Height 9.4 cm. (Sofia Ecclesiastical Museum; after D 260, pls. 5, 8.)

Apollo Deraenus, a Thracian epithet which implies a fairly important local tradition. In Aegean Thrace, Apollo is a familiar deity, for it was not by chance that the Dolonci went to consult the oracle at Delphi, and on its instruction chose Miltiades as their leader (above, Section V). From contemporary sources another divinity is known: this was Bendis, mentioned by Hipponax:⁸⁷ 'the daughters of Zeus, Cybebe and Thracian Bendis' (*Θρηϊκίην Βενδῖν*). Later she was associated with and was absorbed into the person of Artemis. This evidence indicates that polytheism existed amongst the Thracians.

In Thracian art painted decoration was at no time a feature of Thracian pottery, in spite of the proximity of the Greek world and of an ever increasing number of imported Greek ceramic articles. During this period the decoration took the form of engraved geometric patterns (Pls. Vol., pl. 250) (Fig. 36). Sometimes some elements of the technique and decoration of metal receptacles were imitated, as for example fluting, which is a reminiscence of Bronze Age metal bowls. Metal objects were nearly always of bronze; small figurines of animals (horse (Fig. 37*a*), stag

⁸⁷ D 228, 50.

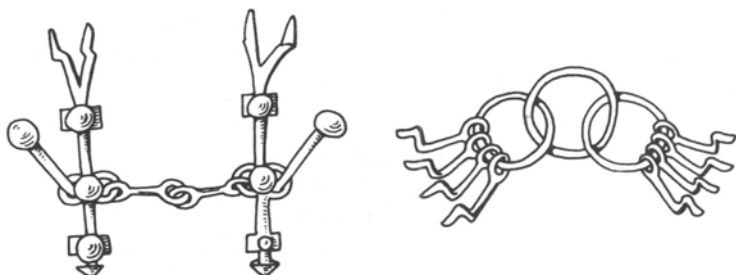


Fig. 38. A bronze bit and bronze horse-trappings of the ninth–sixth centuries B.C. from the village of Gigen (Nikopol District). (After D 260, figs. 7, 9.)

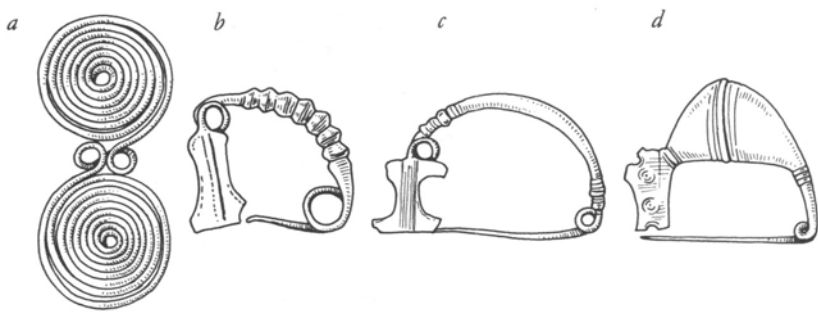


Fig. 39. (a) Bronze spiral fibula from Dărzanica near Vidin. Length 11 cm. (b–d) Bronze fibulae from the same site, from the Vidin area and from Panagjurište. Lengths 5.4, 5.6, 7.4 cm. Seventh century B.C. (Sofia Archaeological Museum 3089, 1803, 1942, 2790; after D 260, pls. 23–6.)

(Pls. Vol., pl. 247) and birds), small cult-axes decorated with animal heads (bull, ram, goat (Pls. Vol., pl. 246); or in the form of a bird (Fig. 37b)),⁸⁸ portions of harness (Pls. Vol., pl. 248; Fig. 38), hair-pins, bracelets, fibulae (Fig. 39), and rings. Gold objects were as yet rare, such as the Sofia cup (Pls. Vol., pl. 251), the Carevbrod crown (Endže)⁸⁹ or the sword sheath of Belogradec,⁹⁰ apart from the Vâlçitrân treasure, whose date is in dispute (see above, n. 67); they become more common towards the end of the sixth century.⁹¹

The geometric style which is the principal characteristic of the whole of Thracian art of the period not only continues the tradition of the preceding period, but reveals the dominant aesthetic attitude at all social levels; it was a truly national art. This traditional local style is seen in its purest form in the ornaments made in bronze, such as bracelets and rings. The influence, however, of the art of Asia Minor was beginning to be felt, though as yet slight, and the figures created by the Thracian artists had none of the fantasy of the oriental animals: they were real creatures, however inadequately executed. This is clearly seen in the cult-

⁸⁸ D 260, ill. 8.

⁸⁹ D 252, 100.

⁹⁰ D 255.

⁹¹ D 230, 229–30.

axes with animal heads (Pls. Vol., pl. 246), or in a bronze figurine in the form of a stag from Sevlievo (Pls. Vol., pl. 247). Not until the end of the sixth century did the Asiatic influence become more marked; it was evident in the choice of subjects as well as in the style of execution.⁹² In the areas of material culture and of art, what linked the land of Thrace and generally the northern part of the Balkan peninsula with the Greek world, both continental and insular, were the figurines of aquatic birds and of horses,⁹³ and more especially brooches. If there were variations in these latter, they were common to the whole northern zone.⁹⁴

⁹² D 260, 26, 110-12.

⁹³ D 260, 26f, figs. 16, 17 and ills. 5 and 8.

⁹⁴ D 260, 22.

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Abbreviations

- AAAS* *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes*
AASF *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*
AASOR *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
Acta ant. Hung. *Acta antiqua Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae*
Acta arch. Hung. *Acta archaeologica Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae*
ADAJ *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
AEA *Archivo Españól de Arqueología*
AfK *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*
AfO (Bh.) *Archiv für Orientforschung (Beiheft)*
AIU *Arkheologicheskie Issledovaniya na Ukraine (Kiev)*
AION *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*
AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*
AJSJL *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
AK *Arkheologiya, Kiev*
AMI *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*
Anat. Stud. *Anatolian Studies*
Ann. Serv. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte*
An. Or. *Analecta Orientalia*
AO *Arkheologicheskie Otkritiya*
AOAT (S) *Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Sonderreihe)*
AOF *Altorientalische Forschungen*
AOS *American Oriental Series*
AP *Arkheologichni Pamiatky, Kiev*
Arch. Anz. *Archäologischer Anzeiger*
Ar. Or. *Archiv Orientalni*
AS *Assyriological Studies (Chicago)*
ASOR *American Schools of Oriental Research*
AUM *Andrews University Monographs*
AUSS *Andrews University Seminary Studies*
AV *Authorized Version of the Bible*
Bagh. Mitt. *Baghdader Mitteilungen*
BAM *Bulletin d'archéologie marocaine*
BAR *Biblical Archaeologist Reader*
BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

- BCH *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
 BE Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A:
 Cuneiform Texts
 BIA *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology*, University of London
 Bi. Ar. *The Biblical Archaeologist*
 BIFAO *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*
 Bi. Mes. *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica*
 Bi. Or. *Bibliotheca Orientalis*
 BMFA *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*
 BM Quart. *British Museum Quarterly*
 Boll. d'Arte *Bollettino d'Arte*
 BRM Babylonian records in the library of J. Pierpont Morgan
 BSA *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens*
 BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
 BSR *Papers of the British School at Rome*
 Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg. *Bulletin d'Institut archéologique, Académie bulgare des sciences*
 Bull. Inst. fr. Caire *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Le Caire*
 Bull. MB *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*
 Bull. Soc. Ling. *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris*
 CAD *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*
 CAH *The Cambridge Ancient History*
 CBQ *Catholic Bible Quarterly*
 CG *Catalogue général des antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*
 Chron. d'Eg. *Chronique d'Égypte*
 CIS *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*
 CIWA Rawlinson, H. C. *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* 1-v.
 London, 1861-84
 CRAI *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
 CRRRA *Compte-rendu de la . . . rencontre assyriologique internationale*
 CSCA *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*
 CT Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
 CTN Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud
 EI *Eretz Israel*
 Eos *Commentarii Societatis philologiae Polonorum*
 ESA *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*
 FGh *Fragmenta der griechischen Historiker*, F. Jacoby, Berlin, 1922-
 GM *Göttinger Miszellen, Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion*, Göttingen
 HSS *Harvard Semitic Series*
 HTR *Harvard Theological Review*
 HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual*
 ICC *International Critical Commentary*
 IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal*
 IFAO *Institut français d'archéologie orientale*
 Ir. Ant. *Iranica Antiqua*
 JA *Journal asiatique*
 JANES *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society*

- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
 JARCE *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
 JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature*
 JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
 JDAI *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
 JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
 JEOL *Jaarbericht van het Voorasiatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'*
 JESHO *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*
 JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
 JKF *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung*
 JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
 JPEK *Jahrbuch für prähistorische und ethnographische Kunst*
 JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
 JRGZM *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz*
 JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*
 JSSEA *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Toronto*
 JTS *Journal of Theological Studies*
 JTVI *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute*
 KB *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*
 KSIK *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii, Kiev*
 KSIAM *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii AN SSSR, Moscow*
 KSIIMK *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Istorii Materialnoy Kultury, Moscow*
 LAA *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*
 LAPO *Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient*
 Ling. Balk. *Linguistique balkanique*
 L-S-J *Greek-English Lexicon*, H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, rev. H. S. Jones,
 with Supplement, Oxford, 1968
 MAOG *Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft*
 MAPP *Materialy z Arkheologii Pivnichnoho Prichornomoria, Odessa*
 MDAIK *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts für ägyptische
 Altertumskunde in Kairo*
 MDOG *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
 MDP *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*
 MEFR *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome*
 Mém. inst. fr. Caire *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français
 d'archéologie orientale du Caire*
 MIA *Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR*
 MIO *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*
 M-L *Meiggs, R. and Lewis, D. M. A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions
 to the End of the Fifth Century B.C. Oxford, 1969*
 MM *Madridrer Mitteilungen*
 MMJ *Metropolitan Museum Journal*
 Mon. Ant. *Monumenti Antichi*
 MSL *Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexicon*
 MVAG *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft*
 Nachr. Göttingen *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*
 NEB *New English Bible*

- NICOT The New International Commentary on the Old Testament
Not. Scav. *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, annexe to *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Rome
Num. Chron. *Numismatic Chronicle*
 OECT Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
 OIC Oriental Institute Communications
 OIP Oriental Institute Publications
 OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
Or. *Orientalia*
Or. Ant. *Oriens Antiquus*
 PAPS *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia
 PBS The University Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section
 PCPhS *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
 PEF *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*
 PEQ *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
 PPS *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*
 PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
 P-W Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Mittelhaus, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1893-
QDAP *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*
RA *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
Rec. Trav. *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*
Rendic. Acc. Lincei *Rendiconti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei*
Rend. Ist. Lombardo *Rendiconti del r. Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere*
 RES *Répertoire d'Epigraphie Sémitique*
Rev. Arch. *Revue archéologique*
Rev. Arch. Bib. Mus. *Revista de archivos, bibliothecas y museos*
Rev. Bibl. *Revue biblique*
Rev. d'égyptol. *Revue d'égyptologie*
Rev. de Philol. *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*
 RHA *Revue hittite et asianique*
 RIDA *Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité*
Rom. Mitt. *Römische Mitteilungen. Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, römische Abteilung*
 RSF *Rivista di Studi Fenici*
 RSO *Rivista degli Studi orientali*
 RSV Revised Standard Version of the Bible
 RV Revised Version of the Bible
SA *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*
SAI *Arkheologiya SSSR. Svod Arkheologicheskikh Istochnikov*
SAK *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*
 SANE Sources from the Ancient Near East
Stud. Etr. *Studi Etruschi*
 TAM *Tituli Asiae Minoris*
 TB *Tyndale Bulletin*
 TCL *Textes cunéiformes du Louvre*

- TCS Texts from Cuneiform Sources
 TIM Texts in the Iraq Museum
 UE(T) Ur Excavations (Texts)
 UF *Ugarit-Forschungen*
 UVB *Vorläufiger Bericht über die . . . Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka*
 VAB Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
 VAS Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler
 VDI *Vestnik drevnei istorii*
 VSSA *Voprosy Skifo-Sarmatskoy Arkheologii*, ed. D. B. Shelov, Moscow, 1954
 VT (Supp.) *Vetus Testamentum* (Supplements)
 We. Or. *Die Welt des Orients*
 WHJP *World History of the Jewish People*
 WTJ *Westminster Theological Journal*
 WVD OG Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
 WZKM *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
 YNER Yale Near Eastern Researches
 YOS (R) Yale Oriental Series (Researches)
 ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
 ZÄS *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
 ZAW (Bh.) *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Beiheft)
 ZDMG *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
 ZDPV *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
 ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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